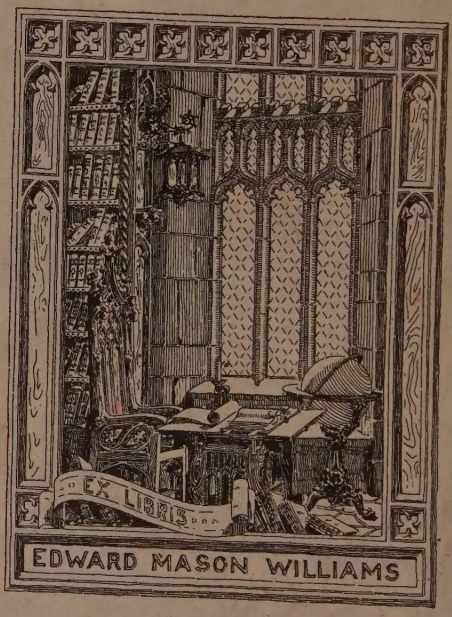
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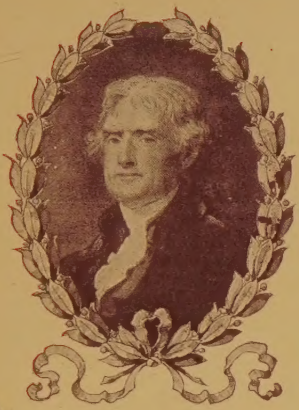

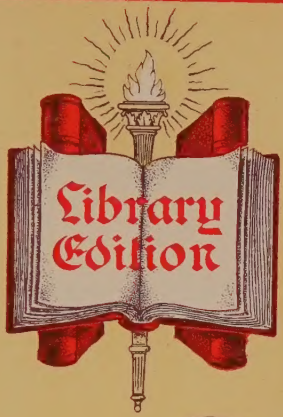

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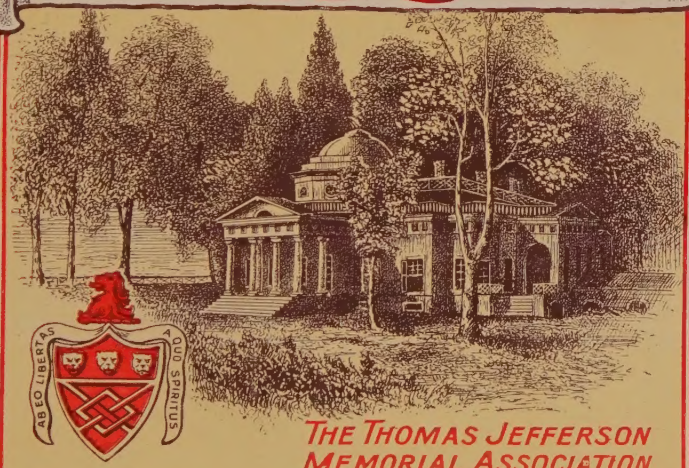

THE THOMAS JEFFERSON
MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

THE WRITINGS OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON

Library Edition

CONTAINING HIS

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, NOTES ON VIRGINIA, PARLIAMENTARY MANUAL, OFFICIAL PAPERS, MESSAGES AND ADDRESSES, AND OTHER WRITINGS, OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE, NOW COLLECTED AND

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INCLUDING

ALL OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, DEPOSITED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND PUBLISHED IN 1853 BY ORDER OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

AND

A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYTICAL INDEX

ANDREW A. LIPSCOMB, *Chairman Board of Governors*
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

ALBERT ELLERY BERGH
MANAGING EDITOR

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WASHINGTON, D. C.
1903

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Virginia Statues of Jefferson

Reproduction from the Original Sculptures by Edward V. Valentine and Alexander Galt

The figure on the left is the statue which stands in the Library rotunda of the University of Virginia. It is the one for which the General Assembly of Virginia, appropriated ten thousand dollars in 1854. Alexander Galt, of Norfork, Va., was chosen to do the work, and the statue was unveiled in 1868. In modelling this likeness the sculptor followed a portrait recommended by Jefferson's grandson, Colonel Thomas J. Randolph.

The statue on the right is a more recent work. It was done by Edward V. Valentine, of Richmond, Va., and holds a conspicuous place in that city. It represents Jefferson more as a student and scholar than as a statesman. The sculptor in his work made use of the well-known portraits of Jefferson as well as the clothing worn by the great Virginian and the description given of him by one who saw Jefferson alive. Both of these statues may be fairly regarded as the finest effigies of Jefferson in his native state.

and Alexander Galt

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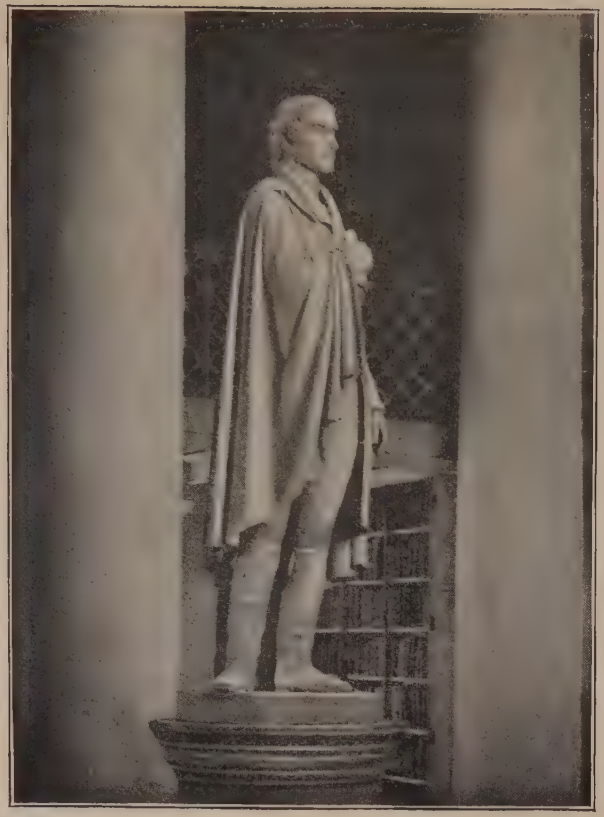

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JEFFERSON AS A MAN OF SCIENCE.

It is an interesting tribute to the value of the scientific mind that two of the men among the most important in the establishment of the United States of America were at the same time its earliest and most distinguished students of the natural and physical sciences, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, and while the time of both of these men was largely given to public affairs, their chief intellectual interest lay in the discovery and the setting forth of new truths. Jefferson wrote to a correspondent, "Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight," but he was likewise impressed with the fact that there was a relationship between science and republican institutions. To Monsieur d'Ivernois he uses the phrase: "Freedom, the first-born of science," and to General Kosciusko he says: "The main objects of all science are the freedom and happiness of man," while to another correspondent he declares that "Science is more important in a republican than in any other government."

The first public demonstration of Jefferson's capability as a man of science was the preparation and

publication in 1781 of his "Notes on Virginia." "This," according to the late G. Brown Goode, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and the historian of American science, "was the first comprehensive treatise upon the topography, natural history and natural resources of one of the United States, and was the precursor of the great library of scientific reports which have since been issued by the State and Federal governments. Though hastily prepared to meet a special need, if measured by its influence it is the most important scientific work as yet published in America." In this work he successfully overthrew many of the arguments of Buffon, who was at the time considered the highest living authority on natural history subjects; and later, when he came to know Buffon in Paris, the latter admitted some of the errors that he had made.

In a valuable paper published in the Magazine of American History for 1885, Frederick C. Luther points out that Jefferson "had a more or less practical knowledge of surgical anatomy, civil engineering, physics, meteorology, mechanics and astronomy, and was at home in many departments of pure and applied science, but it was in natural history that he was most interested, and as a naturalist he made his only original contribution to scientific knowledge." * * * "He seems to have acquired nearly all the knowledge the world then possessed of geology and zoology, and while many of the theories advanced in his 'Notes on Virginia' have been rejected by mod-

ern science, in some of his conclusions Jefferson was quite in advance of the best specialists of the age, and notably so in the department of palæontology."

In fact palæontology in the United States had its beginning in a paper filed with the American Philosophical Society by Jefferson under date of March 10, 1797, announcing his discovery of the *Megalonyx Jeffersoni;* this paper was published under the title, "Memoir on the Discovery of a Quadruped in the Western Parts of Virginia," in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. The original specimen was deposited in the American Philosophical Society and subsequently transferred to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, where it may still be seen. The announcement of this discovery was coincident with his arrival in Philadelphia to be inaugurated as Vice-President of the United States, and upon that occasion he brought with him a collection of fossil bones of the specimen in question, which he had obtained in Greenbrier County, Virginia.

But his interest in palæontology did not stop here. In February, 1801, during the excitement of the contest with Aaron Burr, he was corresponding with Doctor Wistar with regard to some bones of the mammoth which he had just procured from Shawangunk, in New York.

In 1808, when the excitement over the embargo was highest and his policy was under the severest denunciation, he was carrying on palæontological

studies in the White House. Under his direction upwards of 300 specimens of fossil bones had been brought from the famous Big Bone Lick, and spread in one of the large unfinished rooms of the Presidential mansion. Doctor Wistar was asked to come from Philadelphia and select such as were needed to complete the collection of the Philosophical Society. The exploration of the Lick was made at the private expense of Jefferson, through the agency of General William Clarke, and this may fairly be recorded as the beginning of American governmental work in palæontology.

But palæontology was not the only scientific subject which engaged his attention. He was, when Secretary of State in Washington's Cabinet, chairman of a committee organized by the American Philosophical Society in 1792, to collect materials for the natural history of the Hessian Fly, whose ravages in the wheat-fields threatened so great a danger to the prosperity of the country. This appears to be the first organized effort in economic entomology in the United States.

He was greatly interested in the discovery and cultivation of plants useful in agriculture. He had a table beautifully drawn up, giving the average earliest and latest appearance of thirty-seven varieties of vegetables in the Washington market during the whole eight years of his Presidency, and on his journeys abroad he was always looking out for new plants which might with profit be transplanted to

America. When in later life he drew up a list of the services he believed he had rendered his countrymen, he enumerated, along with the disestablishment of a State Church, the abolition of entails, the prohibition of slave importation, and the drafting of the Declaration of Independence, "*the introduction of olive plants and heavy upland rice into South Carolina and Georgia*," declaring that "the greatest service which can be rendered to any country is to add a useful plant to its culture."

His interest in agriculture even went in the direction of the invention of a new plow. As far back as 1788 Jefferson entered upon some speculations concerning the improvement of plows, and attempted to sketch an original and uniform mathematical rule for shaping the mould-board of a plow, the object being to secure the regular inversion of a certain depth of the surface soil with the least application of force. By 1796 his new plows were in use. A Mr. Strickland, a member of the English Board of Agriculture, being on a visit to Monticello, saw there plows in operation constructed on this principle, and mentioning them favorably on his return, the Board, through its president, Sir John Sinclair, requested from Mr. Jefferson a model and a description. These were forwarded to England in 1798. The description was published in the Edinburgh Encyclopædia and in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. The invention also attracted attention in France. He is likewise

credited with being the inventor of the copying press. He made observations in meteorology and had a good collection of philosophical apparatus.

It has been declared by Mr. Goode that "it is probable that no two men have done so much for science in America as Jefferson and Agassiz—not so much by their direct contributions to knowledge, as by the immense weight which they gave to scientific interests by their advocacy."

This statement is fully borne out by the impetus which Jefferson gave to the relationship of the Government to scientific work. The inception of the system of scientific surveys of the public domain was the outcome of more than twenty years of earnest endeavor on his part. It was he who suggested to John Ledyard, of Connecticut, the enterprise of exploring the western part of our continent by passing through St. Petersburg to Kamchatka, and procuring passage in some Russian vessel to the United States—a project which failed because of the arrest of Ledyard. In 1792 he proposed to the American Philosophical Society to set on foot a subscription to explore the great West, and for this subscription became responsible for raising one thousand guineas. This was to have been undertaken jointly by Captain Meriwether Lewis and Michaux, the botanist, but it also failed. In 1803 he recommended to Congress in a confidential message, the sending of an exploring party to trace the Missouri to its source, to cross the highlands, to follow the best water communication

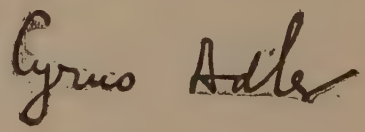
which offered itself from thence to the Pacific Ocean. Congress approved the proposition and voted a sum of money for carrying it into execution. Captain Lewis, who had been with Jefferson nearly two years as private secretary, immediately renewed his request to have direction of the party. The second expedition toward the West was also sent out during Jefferson's administration, being that under command of General Z. M. Pike, who was sent to explore the sources of the Mississippi River and the western parts of Louisiana, continuing as far west as Pike's Peak, the name of which still remains as a memorial of this enterprise. It was during Jefferson's administration, too, that the project of founding the Coast Survey arose. This was recommended to Congress by the President in 1807.

It was under his Presidency that the idea of Washington for the establishment of a Military Academy at West Point was fulfilled, and Jefferson also had a plan, realized later, for the establishment of a National Observatory. It was he who proposed the unit of the present coinage of the United States.

He was elected President of the American Philosophical Society in January, 1797, and held that office until 1814, when he resigned on account of his age. His connection with the Society, as may be seen from the statements above, was by no means perfunctory. During his residence in Paris he kept four of the principal American colleges, Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and the College of Phila-

delphia, informed of all that happened in the scientific circles of Europe. Even such a subject as aerial invention attracted his attention. His letters of 1785 contain several references to the Montgolfier balloon. At a time when the natural sciences were but little cultivated in the established universities, he wrote to Doctor Willard, the President of Harvard, urging their pursuit. "What a field," he said, "have we at our doors to signalize ourselves in. The botany of America is far from being exhausted, its mineralogy is untouched, and its natural history or zoology, totally mistaken and misrepresented."

His devotion to science, coincident with his active public life and the bitter enmities which it engendered, gave the opportunity for much public criticism, yet it afforded Jefferson, as it did to Franklin, especial consideration as representative of the new nation in France; it earned him election in numerous learned societies in Europe and gave an impetus to the organization of science both in the learned societies, in the colleges and in connection with the Government of the United States, such as could only have been exercised by a man who had occupied the exalted office of President of the United States.



Jefferson's Marriage License-Bond

Fac-Simile of the Original Document Signed December 23, 1771.

On January 1, 1772, Thomas Jefferson married Martha Skelton, the widow of Bathurst Skelton, and daughter of John Wayles. Their marriage license-bond, of which a fac-simile is given here, shows the procedure required by the Virginia laws of these ante-Revolutionary days. This contract was drawn and signed by Jefferson himself. The additional signature of Francis Eppes is that of the father of Jefferson's son-in-law, John W. Eppes.

1785 contain several references to the [illegible]
balloon. At a time when the normal sch[illegible]

I Thomas Jefferson of Monticello in Albemarle, being of sound mind and in my ordenary state of health, make my last will and testament in manner and form as follows.

I give to my grandson Francis Eppes, son of my dear deceased daughter Mary Eppes, in fee simple, all that part of my lands at Poplar Forest lying West of the following lines, to wit, Begenning at Radford's upper corner near the double branches of Bear creek and the public road, & running thence in a straight line to the fork of my private road, near the barn, thence along that private road (as it was changed in 1817) to it's crossing of the main branch of North Tomahawk creek, and, from that crossing, in a direct line over the main ridge which divides the North and South Tomahawk, to the South Tomahawk, at the confluence of two branches where the old road to the Waterlick crossed it, and from that confluence up the Northernmost branch (which separates Mr. Daniel's and Perry's fields) to it's source, & thence by the shortest line to my Western boundary. And having, in a former correspondence with my deceased son in law John W. Eppes contemplated laying off for him with remainder to my grandson Francis, a certain portion in the Southern part of my lands in Bedford and Campbell, which I afterwards found to be generally more indifferent than I had supposed, & therefore determined to change it's location for the better; now to remove all doubt, if any could arise on a purpose merely voluntary & unexecuted, I hereby declare that what I have herein given to my s^d grandson Francis is instead of, and not additional to what I had formerly contemplated.

I subject all my other property to the payment of my debts in the first place.

Considering the insolvent state of the affairs of my friend & son in law Thomas Mann Randolph, and that what will remain of my property will be the only resource against the want in which his family would thereafter be left, it must be his wish, as it is my duty, to guard that resource against all liability for his debts, engagements or purposes whatsoever, and to preclude the rights, powers and authorities over it which might result to him by operation of law, and which might, independantly of his will, bring it within the power of his creditors, I do hereby devise and bequeath all the residue of my property real and personal, in possession or in action, whether held in my own right, or in that of my dear deceased wife, according to the powers vested in me by deed of settlement for that purpose, to my grandson Thomas J. Randolph, & my friends Nicholas P. Trist, and Alexander Garrett & their heirs

Th: Jefferson

during the life of my sd son in law Thomas M. Randolph, to be held & administered by them, in trust, for the sole and separate use and behoof of my dear daughter Martha Randolph and her heirs. and, aware of the nice and difficult distinctions of the law in these cases, I will further explain by saying that I understand and intend the effect of these limitations to be, that the legal estate and actual occupation shall be vested in my said trustees, and held by them in base fee, determinable on the death of my sd son in law, and the remainder during the same time be vested in my sd daughter and her heirs, and of course disposable by her last will, and that at the death of my sd son in law, the particular estate of the sd trustees shall be determined and the remainder, in legal estate, possession and use ~~and absolute property~~ become vested in my sd daughter and her heirs, in absolute property for ever.

In consequence of the variety and undescribableness of the articles of property within the house at Monticello, and the difficulty of inventorying and appraising them separately and specifically, and it's inutility, I dispense with having them inventoried and appraised; and it is my will that my executors be not held to give any security for the administration of my estate. I appoint my grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph my sole executor during his life, and after his death, I constitute executors my friends Nicholas P. Trist and Alexander Garrett, joining to them my daughter Martha Randolph after the death of my sd son in law Thomas M. Randolph.

Lastly I revoke all former wills by me heretofore made; and in witness that this is my will, I have written the whole with my own hand on two pages, and have subscribed my name to each of them this 16th day of March one thousand ~~eight~~ hundred and twenty six.

Th: Jefferson

Charlottesville, Va.

I Thomas Jefferson of Monticello in Albemarle make and add the following Codicil to my will, controuling the same so far as it's provisions go.

I recommend to my daughter Martha Randolph, the maintenance and care of my well-beloved sister Anne Scott Marks, and trust confidently that from affection to her, aswell as for my sake, she will never let her want a comfort.

I have made no specific provision for the comfortable maintenance of my son in law Thomas M. Randolph, because of the difficulty and uncertainty of devising terms which shall vest any beneficial interest in him which the law will not transfer to the benefit of his creditors, to the destitution of my daughter and her family and disablement of her to supply ~~for~~ him: whereas property placed under the exclusive right of my daughter and her independant will, as if she were a feme sole, considering the relations in which she stands both to him and his children, will be a certain resource against want for all.

I give to my friend James Madison of Montpellier my gold-mounted walking staff of animal horn, as a token of the cordial and affectionate friendships which for nearly now an half century, has united us in the same principles and pursuits of what we have deemed for the greatest good of our country

I give to the University of Virginia my library, except such particular books only, and of the same edition, as it may already possess, when this legacy shall take effect. the rest of my said library ~~remains~~ remaining after those given to the University shall have been taken out, I give to my two grandsons in law Nicholas P. Trist and Joseph Coolidge.

To my grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph I give my silver watch in preference of the golden one, because of it's superior excellence. my papers of business going of course to him, as my executor, all of a literary or other character I give to him as of his own property.

Th: Jefferson

I give a gold watch to each of my grandchildren who shall not have already recieved one from me, to be purchased and delivered by my executor, to my grandsons at the age of 21. and grand-daughters at that of sixteen.

I give to my good, affectionate, and faithful servant Burwell his freedom, and the sum of three hundred Dollars to buy necessaries to commence his trade of painter and glazier, or to use them use as he pleases. I give also to my good servants John Hemings and Joe Foster their freedom at the end of one year after my death: and to each of them respectively all the tools of their respective shops or callings; and it is my will that a comfortable log-house be built for each of the three servants so emancipated on some part of my lands convenient to them with respect to the residence of their wives, and to Charlottesville and the University, where they will be mostly employed, and reasonably convenient also to the interests of the proprietor of the lands; of which houses I give the use of one, with a curtilage of an acre to each, during his life or personal occupation thereof

I give also to John Hemings the service of his two apprentices, Madison and Eston Hemings, until their respective ages of twenty one years, at which period respectively, I give them their freedom. and I humbly and earnestly request of the legislature of Virginia a confirmation of the bequest of freedom to these servants, with permission to remain in this state where their families and connections are, as an additional instance of the favor, of which I have received so many other manifestations, in the course of my life, and for which I now give them my last, solemn, and dutiful thanks.

In testimony that this is a Codicil to my will of yesterday's date, and that it is to modify so far the provisions of that will, I have written it all with my own hand, in two pages, to each of which I subscribe my name this 17th day of March one thousand eight hundred and twenty six

Th: Jefferson

CONTENTS.

PAGE

JEFFERSON AS A MAN OF SCIENCE. By Cyrus Adler, Ph. D., Librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. iii

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION. (Letters written from, 1780–1825) 1–288

To Horatio Gates, November 4, 1780 1
To William Carmichael, June 22, 1785 2
To Francis Hopkinson, July 6, 1785 5
To George Washington, July 10, 1785 8
To St. John De Crevecœur, August 22, 1785 10
To James Currie, September 27, 1785 11
To Rev James Madison, October 28, 1785 15
To Francis Eppes, December 11, 1785 20
To George Washington, January 4, 1786 23
To Willam Carmichael, January 13, 1786 26
To James Madison, April 25, 1786 29
To Philip Mazzei, April 4, 1787 32
To L'Abbé D'Arnal, July 9, 1787 34
To John Adams, July 23, 1787 36
To Benjamin Franklin, August 6, 1787 38
To John Adams, December 31, 1787 39
To Edward Bancroft, January 26, 1788 41
To Countess Barziza, July 8, 1788 45
To C. W. F. Dumas, July 30, 1788 46
To John Jay, September 5, 1788 47
To Francis Hopkinson, December 21, 1788 48

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION–*Continued.* PAGE

To John Jay, March 1, 1789 52
To John Paul Jones, March, 23 1789 54
To John Adams, May 10, 1789 60
To Nathaniel Cutting, June 7, 1789 62
To Thomas Paine, July 13, 1789 63
To John Bondfield, July 16, 1789 64
To John Jay, August 5, 1789 65
To Gen. Henry Knox, September 12, 1789 , ... 67
To William Bingham, September 25, 1789 69
To Baron De Geismer, November 20, 1789 71
To David Rittenhouse, June 12, 1790 73
To the Secretary of the Treasury (Alexander Hamilton), June 25, 1791 75
To T. M. Randolph, July 3, 1791 76
To James Madison, July 21, 1791 79
To Gov. William Blount, August 12, 1791 . . . 81
To George Hammond (British Minister), December 15, 1791 82
To George Washington, January 10, 1792 86
To Peter Charles L'Enfant, February 27, 1792 . 87
To Thomas Johnson, David Stuart and Daniel Carroll, March 8, 1792 88
To Louis XVI, March 14, 1792 92
To Benjamin Hawkins, April 1, 1792 93
To Thomas Johnson, David Stuart and Daniel Carroll, April 20, 1792 94
To His Majesty George III, of England, June 6, 1792 96
To the Queen of England, June 6, 1792 97
To Stephen Cathalan, December 2, 1792 98
To Gov. John Hancock, [1793?] 101
To David Humphreys, January 3, 1793 102
To John Garland Jefferson, April 14, 1793 103

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION–*Continued.* PAGE

To Edmond C. Genet, August 16, 1793 105
To Maria Jefferson, November 17, 1793 106
To Alexander Hamilton, December 12, 1793 . . . 107
To the President of Bank of the United States, January —, 1794 108
To George Washington, February 23, 1795 108
To Aaron Burr, January 7, 1797 114
To Louis, Prince of Parma, May 23, 1797 115
To Gov. James Monroe, April 13, 1800 119
To Andrew Ellicott, December 18, 1800 121
To Gen. Thaddeus Kosciusko, March 14, 1801 . . 122
To James Madison, April 30, 1801 124
To John Langdon, May 22, 1801 125
To James Monroe, March 31, 1802 126
To Abraham Baldwin, April 14, 1802 128
To Thomas Law, May 31, 1802 130
To William Dunbar, March 3, 1803 131
To Dr. Benjamin Rush, April 23, 1803 133
To Henry Dearborn, August 23, 1803 134
To the Emperor of Morocco, December 20, 1803 135
To John Langdon, December 22, 1803 136
To Gov. John Page, December 23, 1803 138
To the Dey of Algiers, March 27, 1804 139
To F. H. Alexander von Humboldt, May 28, 1804 140
To the Secretary of War (Henry Dearborn), June 6, 1804 141
To Alexander, Emperor of Russia, June 15, 1804 142
To the Brothers of the Choctaw Nation, March 13, 1805 144
To the Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, January 10, 1806 146
To William H. Harrison, January 16, 1806 150

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION—*Continued.* PAGE

To Rev. Doctor G. C. Jenner, May 14, 1806 152
To Albert Gallatin, June 21, 1806 153
To Pierre Auguste Adet, June 29, 1806 154
To Andrew Jackson, December 3, 1806 156
To John Langdon, December 22, 1806 157
To Henry Lee, February 1, 1807 158
To Andrew Jackson, March 21, 1807 159
To Joel Barlow, June 14, 1807 161
To George Hay, October 11, 1807 162
To F. A. Delacroix, December 21, 1807 162
To George Hay, February 16, 1808 164
To G. Hyde de Neuville, February 17, 1808 . . . 165
To Marquis de Lafayette, April 28, 1808 166
To Thomas Paine, July 17, 1808 170
To Archibald Stuart, October 22, 1808 171
To Robert Fulton, April 16, 1810 172
To Dr. William Eustis, May 30, 1810 174
To W. B. Giles, November 12, 1810 175
To James Madison, December 8, 1810 176
To James Monroe, January 8, 1811 179
To Rev. James Madison, December 29, 1811 . . . 183
To Andrew Ellicott, June 24, 1812 185
To William Barton, October 2, 1812 186
To Alrichs and Dixon, January 14, 1813 186
To Robert Fulton, March 8, 1813 187
To Elbridge Gerry, June 19, 1813 189
To James Madison, July 13, 1813 190
To Robert Fulton, July 21, 1813 192
To Abigail Adams (Mrs. John Adams), August 22, 1813 195
To Dupont de Nemours, November 29, 1813 . . . 199
To Thaddeus Kosciusko, November 30, 1813 . . . 200
To James Monroe, January 27, 1814 206

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION—*Continued.*

PAGE

To J. Correa de Serra, April 19, 1814 209
To Peter Carr, September 7, 1814..... 211
To William Caruthers, December 3, 1814..... 221
To B. S. Barton, February 26, 1815..... 223
To J. Correa De Serra, January 1, 1816..... 224
To Thomas Appleton, January 14, 1816..... 228
To P. S. Duponceau, January 22, 1816..... 231
To Albert Gallatin, April 11, 1816..... 233
To J. F. Dumoulin, May 7, 1816..... 236
To Marquis de Lafayette, May 17, 1816 237
To Francis Eppes, May 21, 1816..... 241
To James Barbour, January 19, 1817..... 242
To James Monroe, April 8, 1817..... 243
To Joseph Delaplaine, April 12, 1817..... 246
To Jean Baptiste Say, May 14, 1817..... 248
To Joseph C. Cabell, October 24, 1817 250
To the Secretary of the Treasury (William H. Crawford), January 5, 1818 252
To Gen. John Armstrong, January 17, 1818.... 253
To Count Dugnani (Papal Nuncio), February 14, 1818 254
To Albert Gallatin, February 15, 1818..... 258
To Jacob Bigelow, April 11, 1818..... 259
To Charles Jared Ingersoll, July 20, 1818..... 262
To Joseph Milligan, October 25, 1818..... 263
To Nathaniel Bowditch, October 26, 1818..... 264
To Marquis de Lafayette, November 23, 1818 .. 268
To Henry Dearborn, July 5, 1819..... 270
To Elijah Griffith, May 15, 1820..... 273
To James Monroe, August 13, 1821..... 274
To Levett Harris, December 12, 1821..... 277
To John Quincy Adams, July 18, 1824..... 278
To James Madison, September 24, 1824..... 278

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION–*Continued.* PAGE

To Messrs. Adams, Fitzuhuylson and Brockenbrough, October 18, 1824 279
To Marquis de Lafayette, January 16, 1825 280
To William H. Crawford, February 15, 1825 282
To Edward Everett, July 21, 1825 283
To Marquis de Lafayette, August 8, 1825 285
To James Madison, October 18, 1825 286

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY COLLECTION. (Letters written from 1780–1781) 293–356

To the Quarter-Masters of Frederick, Hampshire and Berkeley, December 24, 1780 293
To Major-General Baron Steuben, January 12, 1781 294
To Major-General Baron Steuben, January 14, 1781 294
To Colonel Timothy Pickering, January 15, 1781 296
To General Nelson, January 16, 1781 297
To Colonel Carvington, January 16, 1781 298
To Baron Steuben, January 19, 1781 298
To Baron Steuben, January 19, 1781 300
To Baron Steuben, January 29, 1781 300
To Governor Nash, of North Carolina, February 2, 1781 301
To Baron Steuben, February 7, 1781 302
To Baron Steuben, February 7, 1781 303
To the Virginia Delegates in Congress, February 7, 1781 304
To General Nelson, February 10, 1781 305
To Baron Steuben, February 12, 1781 306
To Speaker Harrison (House of Burgesses), February 12, 1781 309
To Baron Steuben, February 13, 1781 310

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY COLLECTION—*Continued.* PAGE

To Baron Steuben, February 15, 1781 311
To Baron Steuben, February 17, 1781 312
To Baron Steuben, February 18, 1781 313
To General Greene, February 19, 1781 314
To Baron Steuben, February 21, 1781 315
To the Officer Commanding the Naval Force of His Most Christian Majesty on the Coast of Virginia, February 28, 1781 316
To Colonel Pickering, March 4, 1781 317
To the Honorable Judges of the High Court of Chancery, March 5, 1781 319
To the Speaker of the House of Delegates, March 9, 1781 320
To General Muhlenberg, March 16, 1781 321
To the Speaker of the House of Delegates, March 17, 1781 322
To the Speaker of the House of Delegates, March 17, 1781 322
To His Excellency the Governor of Hispaniola, March 24, 1781 323
To His Excellency Governor Nash, March 24, 1781 324
To General Greene, March 24, 1781 326
To Marquis de Lafayette, March 28, 1781 328
To Baron Steuben, April 3, 1771 330
To General Muhlenberg, April 3, 1781 331
To Baron Steuben, April 6, 1781 333
To Major-General Nathaniel Greene, April 5, 1781 334
To Colonel Henry Lee, April 13, 1781 336
To Baron Steuben, April 14, 1781 337
To the County Lieutenants of Fauquier, Loudoun, Caroline, Albemarle, Fluvanna, Goochland and Henrico, April 14, 1781 338

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY COLLECTION—*Continued.* PAGE

To the Honorable Richard Henry Lee, April 16, 1781 340
To General Muhlenberg, April 16, 1781 341
To John Page, April 18, 1781 342
To Baron Steuben, April 20, 1781 343
To Marquis de Lafayette, April 23, 1781 344
To the President of the Board of War, April 23, 1781 345
To Baron Steuben, April 26, 1781 346
To Marquis de Lafayette, May 6, 1781 348
To His Excellency General Washington and the Honorable Virginia Delegates in Congress, May 10, 1781 348
To His Excellency President Reid, May 22, 1781 349
To Major Richard Claiborne, May 23, 1781 350
To Marquis de Lafayette, May 29, 1781 351
To the County Lieutenants of York, New Kent, Hanover, Gloucester, King and Queen, King William, Middlesex, Essex, Caroline, Spotsylvania, Lancaster, Richmond, King George, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Stafford, Prince William, Fairfax, Loudoun and Berkeley, May 29, 1781 353
To Marquis de Lafayette, May 30, 1781 354
To Marquis de Lafayette, May 30, 1781 355
To the Surveyor of the County of Monongalia, June 3, 1781 356

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA COLLECTION. An Exact Transcript of the Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia during the Rectorship of Thomas Jefferson 361–499

Declaration Signers From the Emmet Collection

(Northern Group representing Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New Hampshire and New York.)

Reproductions from the original etchings and water-color drawings by H. B. Hall in the complete set of signers of the Declaration of Independence, collected by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, and deposited in the Lenox Library, New York. The two groups of Signers reproduced from the Emmet Collection are presented in this volume and Volume XX respectively for the purpose of supplementing the portraits of Signers that are not included in the Independence Hall Collection. Some of these supplementary portraits, however, are derived from sources of questionable authenticity.

John Morton (1724–1777) was born in Chester, (Delaware County), Pennsylvania. In 1765 he was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress. He was elected to the First Continental Congress, of 1774 and served till 1776. He had previously filled the offices of Sheriff of Chester County, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province. When the Pennsylvania delegation was divided upon the question of adopting the Declaration of Independence, Morton gave the casting vote in the affirmative.

George Taylor (1716–1781) was born in Ireland. He left home without permission to sail for America. From 1764 to 1770 he was a member of the Provincial Assembly that met at Philadelphia. In 1775 he was placed on the "Committee of Safety," and in 1776 was one of the Pennsylvania delegates chosen to go to the Continental Congress in place of the members originally selected who had hesitated to agree to the measures of Independence.

Francis Lewis (1713–1803) was born in Wales. Arrived in America in 1734. Became a successful merchant. In 1765 he was a member of the Colonial Congress, and was one of the delegates from New York to the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1779. His extensive experience in commercial affairs made him an invaluable member of many committees. In 1778 he was appointed Commissioner of the Board of Admiralty.

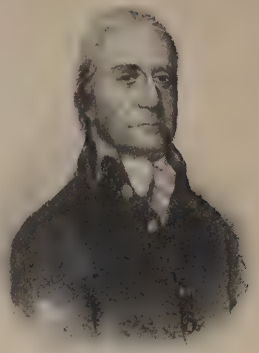
Samuel Huntington (1731–1796) was born in Windham, Connecticut. About 1758 he settled as a lawyer in Norwich, and became a member of the General Assembly in 1764. From 1775 to 1783 he was a member of the Continental Congress, serving as its President during the years 1779 to 1781. He was Judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, from 1774 to 1784, becoming Chief Justice in the latter year. From 1786 to 1796 he was Governor of Connecticut.

Matthew Thornton (1714–1803) was born in Ireland. He was brought to America by his father about 1717. He received a good education and studied medicine. He was chosen President of the Provincial Convention, in 1775, and was Judge of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire from 1776 to 1782. In September 1776, the Legislature of New Hampshire made him a delegate to the Continental Congress. Although not a member of the Congress when the Declaration was voted upon, he affixed his signature to the engrossed copy in the same manner as the Pennsylvania Delegates.

James Smith (1720–1806) was born in Ireland. Came with his father to America in 1729. Was educated at the College of Pennsylvania and subsequently studied law. In 1774 he raised the first volunteer company in Pennsylvania, to resist Great Britain. He served as a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, from 1776 to 1778, and filled various other important offices.

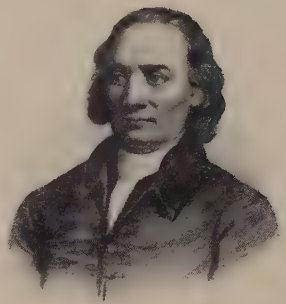
GEORGE TAYLOR

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON



FRANCIS LEWIS

JAMES SMITH



JOHN MORTON

MATTHEW THORNTON

ILLUSTRATIONS.

JEFFERSON AT SIXTY ..... *Frontispiece*

Photogravure from the Original Gypsum Bas-relief by George Miller.

FACING PAGE

VIRGINIA STATUES OF JEFFERSON ii

Reproduction from the Original Sculptures by Edward V. Valentine and Alexander Galt.

JEFFERSON'S MARRIAGE LICENSE BOND x

Fac-simile of the Original Document.

JEFFERSON'S WILL x

Fac-simile of the Original Document in the Circuit Court at Charlottesville, Va.

DECLARATION SIGNERS FROM THE EMMET COLLECTION (Northern Group) xviii

Reproduced from the Original Engravings deposited in the Lenox Library, New York.

THOMAS PAINE 62

Reproduction from the Original Painting by George Romney.

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE 288

Reproduction from the Original Painting by Thomas Sully.

VOTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE 356

Reproduction from the Original Engraving by Edward Savage.

SUPPLEMENTARY MANUSCRIPTS

FROM

THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION.

which separated those of a private nature from those of public character. In time the public papers were for sale to the United States Government. The Congress, by an act of the 12th of April, 1848, made an appropriation of $20,000 for the purpose of purchase. The Supplementary Manuscripts have all been drawn from the Government collection. The letters and memoranda have been selected with a view to sustaining the standard of the preceding volumes. Not alone do they embrace many of Jefferson's letters to notable correspondents, but maintain the range of abstract thought and practical suggestion that have placed Jefferson in the foremost rank of the world's great letter-writers.

JEFFERSON'S WORKS.

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT COLLECTION.

TO HORATIO GATES.

RICHMOND, November 4, 1780.

SIR,—Since my last to you the enemy have withdrawn their force from the north side of James river and have taken post at Portsmouth which we are told they are fortifying. They have been some distance above Suffolk, but at present have retired below that place. More accurate information of their force than we at first had gives us reason to suppose them from 2,500 to 3,000, of which 60 or 70 are cavalry. They are commanded by Major-General Leslie and were conveyed by the Romulus of 40 guns, the Blonde of 32, the Delight sloop of 16, a 20-gun ship of John Goodriche's and 2 row gallies conveying a 32-pounder in their bows, commanded by Commodore Gayton. We are not yet assured that they have landed their whole force; indeed they give out themselves that after drawing the force of this State to Suffolk they mean to go to Baltimore. Their

movements here had induced me to think they came in expectation of meeting Lord Cornwallis in this country; that his precipitate retreat has left them without concerted object and that they wait for further orders. Information yesterday said that on being informed of Lord Cornwallis's retreat and a public paper produced to them, wherein were printed the dispatches you sent on that head, they unladed a vessel and sent her off either to Charleston or New York. The fate of this army of theirs hangs on a very slender naval force indeed.

I am, with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir, your obedient and most humble servant.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, June 22, 1785.

SIR,—Your letter of April 4 came to my hands on the 16th of that month and was acknowledged by mine of May 3. That which you did me the honor to write on the 5th of April never came to hand till the 19th of May, upwards of a month after the one of the day before. I have hopes of sending the present by a Mr. Jarvis who went from hence to Holland some time ago. About this date I suppose him to be at Brussels and that from thence he will inform me whether in his way to Madrid he will pass by this place. If he does, this shall be accompanied by a cypher for our future use; if he does not, I must still await a safe opportunity. Mr. Jarvis is a citizen of

the United States, from New York, a gentleman of intelligence, in the mercantile line, from whom you will be able to get considerable information of American affairs. I think he left America in January. He informed us that Congress were about to appoint a Mr. Lambe of Connecticut their consul to Morocco and to send him to their ministers commissioned to treat with the Barbary powers for instructions. Since that, Mr. Jay inclosed to Mr. Adams, in London, a resolution of Congress deciding definitely on amicable treaties with the Barbary States in the usual way and informing him that he had sent a letter and instructions to us by a Mr. Lambe. Though it is near three weeks since we received a communication of this from Mr. Adams, yet we hear nothing further of Mr. Lambe. Our powers of treating with the Barbary States are full, but in the amount of the expense we are limited. I believe you may safely assure them that they will soon receive propositions from us, if you find such an assurance necessary to keep them quiet. Turning at this instant to your letter dated April 5 and considering it attentively I am persuaded it must have been written on the 5th of May. Of this little mistake I ought to have been sooner sensible. Our latest letters from America are of the middle of April and are extremely barren of news. Congress had not yet proposed a time for their recess though it was thought a recess would take place. Mr. Morris had retired and the treasury was actually administered by commissioners. Their land office

was not yet opened. The settlements of Kaskaskia within the territory ceded to them by Virginia had prayed the establishment of a regular government and they were about sending a commissioner to them. General Knox was appointed their secretary of the War Office. These I think are the only facts we have learnt which are worth communicating to you. The inhabitants of Canada have sent a sensible petition to their king praying the establishment of an assembly, the benefits of the habeas corpus laws and other privileges of British subjects. The establishment of an assembly is denied, but most of their other desires granted. We are now in hourly expectation of the arrival of the packet which should have sailed from New York in May. Perhaps that may bring us matter which may furnish the subject of a more interesting letter. In the meantime I have the honor to be with the highest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

July 14, 1785. I have thus long waited day after day hoping to hear from Mr. Jarvis that I might send a cypher with this, but now give up the hope. No news yet of Mr. Lambe. The packet is arrived, but brings no intelligence except that it is doubtful whether Congress will adjourn this summer. The Assembly of Pennsylvania propose their bank on principles of policy.

TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

PARIS, July 6, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 13th of January. About ten days after that date I received yours of November 18th and about three weeks ago that of March 28th came to hand. Soon after the receipt of the first I published your proposition for improving the quilling of the harpsicord. I enclose you a copy of the advertisement. One application only was made and that was unsuccessful. I do not despair yet of availing you of it as soon as I can get acquainted with some of the principal musicians; but that probably will not be till the beginning of winter, as all the *beau monde* leave Paris in the summer, during which the musical entertainments of a private nature are suspended. I communicated to Dr. Franklin your idea of mesmerising the harpsicord. He has not tried it, probably because his affairs have been long packed and packing. As I do not play on that instrument I cannot try it myself.

The Doctor carries with him a pretty little instrument. It is the sticcado, with glass base instead of wooden ones, and with keys applied to it. Its principal defect is the want of extent, having but three octaves. I wish you would exercise your ingenuity to give it an upper and a lower octave, by finding out other substances which will yield tones on those parts of the scale, bearing a proper affinity to those of glass bars. The middle octave of this is very

sweet. Have you any person on Dr. Franklin's departure to attend to the receiving and forwarding your volumes of the *Encyclopédie* as they come out? If you have not, be pleased to lay your commands on me. Do not be anxious about remitting the prices as it would be a convenience to me to have some little fund in Philadelphia to answer little purposes. I wrote you for newspapers from thence and shall hope to begin soon to receive them. The dearth of American information places us as to our own country in the silence of the grave. I also petitioned you to know whether I am yet at liberty to permit a copy to be taken of General Washington's picture, because till I am I cannot trust it in the hands of a painter to be finished. Another petition was for a copy of our "Battle of the Kegs."

Having slipped the opportunity of sending copies of my "Notes" for yourself and Mr. Rittenhouse when Dr. Franklin's baggage went, I am doubtful whether he can take them with him. If he can, you shall receive them by him; if not, then by the first good opportunity. I am obliged to pray that they may not be permitted to get into the hands of the public till I know whether they will promote or retard certain reformations in my own country. I have written to Mr. Madison to inform me on that head.

No news. A tolerable certainty of peace leaves us without that unfortunate species of intelligence which war furnishes. My daughter is well. I

enclose a letter from my daughter to Mrs. Hopkinson, which she wrote four months ago, and has lain by me till I should write to you. Justice to her obliges me to take this censure on myself. I take the liberty of using your cover also for her letter to Miss Hetty Rittenhouse.

Present my most friendly respects to Mrs. Rittenhouse both of that name, to Mr. Rittenhouse and family and accept assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

July 8th. P. S. Since writing the above, yours of April 20 is put into my hands. I will pray you to send the newspapers—trimming off the margins—as the postage is not an object of so much value with me as the knowing something of what is passing in my own country. Whenever I find an opportunity of sending you a copy of my "Notes" I shall send also the *Bibliotheque Physique* to you. It is a collection of all the improvements in the arts which have been made for some time past. Let me add another commission to those above given you, that is, to present mine and my daughter's affectionate remembrance to Mrs. House and to Mrs. Trist if she be returned. From the latter I shall hope for letters as soon as she returns. I would write to her but for the uncertainty where she is.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PARIS, July 10, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Houdon would much sooner have the honor of attending you but for a spell of sickness which long gave us to despair of his recovery and from which he is but recently recovered. He comes now for the purpose of lending the aid of his art to transmit you to posterity. He is without rivalship in it, being employed from all parts of Europe in whatever is capital. He has had a difficulty to withdraw himself from an order of the Empress of Russia, a difficulty which arose from a desire to show her respect, but which never gave him a moment's hesitation about his present voyage which he considers as promising the brightest chapter in his history. I have spoken of him as an artist only; but I can assure you also that as a man he is disinterested, generous, candid, and panting after glory; in every circumstance meriting your good opinion. He will have need to see you much while he will have the honor of being with you, which you can the more freely admit as his eminence and merit give him admission into genteel societies here. He will need an interpreter. I supposed you could procure some person from Alexandria who might be agreeable to yourself to perform this office. He brings with him a subordinate workman or two, who of course will associate with their own class only.

On receiving the favor of your letter of February

25, I communicated the plan for clearing the Potomac, with the act of assembly and an explanation of its probable advantages, to Mr. Grand, whose acquaintance and connection with the moneyed men here enabled him best to try its success. He has done so, but to no end. I enclose you his letter. I am pleased to hear in the meantime that subscriptions were likely to be filled up at home. This is infinitely better, and will render the proceedings of the companies much more harmonious. I place an immense importance to my own country on this channel of connection with the new western states. I shall continue uneasy till I know that Virginia has assumed her ultimate boundary to the westward. The late example of the State of Franklin separated from North Carolina increases my anxieties for Virginia.

The confidence you are so good as to place in me on the subject of the interest lately given you by Virginia in the Potomac company is very flattering to me. But it is distressing also, inasmuch as to deserve it it obliges me to give my whole opinion. My wishes to see you made perfectly easy by receiving these just returns of gratitude from our country, to which you are entitled, would induce me to be contented with saying, what is a certain truth, that the world would be pleased with seeing them heaped on you, and would consider your receiving them as no derogation from your reputation. But I must own that declining them will add to that reputation

as it will show that your motives have been pure and without any alloy. This testimony, however, is not wanting either to those who know you or who do not. I must therefore repeat that I think the receiving them will not in the least lessen the respect of the world if from any circumstances they would be convenient to you. The candor of my communication will find its justification, I know, with you.

A tolerable certainty of peace leaves little interesting in the way of intelligence. Holland and the Emperor will be quiet; if anything is brewing, it is between the latter and the Porte. Nothing in prospect as yet from England; we shall bring them, however, to decision now that Mr. Adams is received there. I wish much to hear that the canal through Dismal is resumed.

TO ST. JOHN DE CREVECŒUR.

PARIS, August 22, 1785.

SIR,—I have duly received your favor of the 15th instant as I had before done that of May 18, but had not answered it, supposing you would be on your passage. Mr. Mazzei delivered safely the packet you mention. I should have been happy to have seen you here; but we are not to expect that pleasure, it seems, till the fall. The derangement of the packet boats will need your aid; and there are doubtless other circumstances here which may be improved by your presence. The loss sustained by your

friend the Countess d'Houdetot in the death of her brother, has doubtless been participated by you as by all others of his and her acquaintance. I had become of that number just early enough to take a share in it which I did very sincerely.

The confinement of the Cardinal de Rohan in the Bastile has doubtless reached you. The public is not yet possessed of the truth of his story, but from his character and all other circumstances I have little doubt that the final decision must be against him.

My daughter is well and thanks you for your kind enquiries. I hope you found all your family and friends well. I am with great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

TO JAMES CURRIE.

PARIS, September 27, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of August 5th came to hand on the 18th instant, and I mark well what you say, "that my letters shall be punctually answered." This is encouraging, and the more so as it proves to you that in sending your letters in time to arrive at New York the middle of the month, when the French packet sails, they get to hand very speedily. The last was but six weeks from you to me. I thank you again and again for the details it contains, these being precisely of the nature I would wish. Of political correspondents I can find enough, but I can per-

suade nobody to believe that the small facts which they see passing daily under their eyes are precious to me at this distance; much more interesting to the heart than events of higher rank. Fancy to yourself a being who is withdrawn from his connections of blood, of marriage, of friendship, of acquaintance in all their gradations, who for years should hear nothing of what has passed among them, who returns again to see them and finds the one-half dead. This strikes him like a pestilence sweeping off the half of mankind. Events which had they come to him one by one and in detail he would have weathered as other people do, when presented to his mind all at once are overwhelming. Continue then to give me facts, little facts, such as you think every one imagines beneath notice, and your letters will be the most precious to me. They will place me in imagination in my own country, and they will place me where I am happiest. But what shall I give you in return? Political events are scarcely interesting to a man who looks on them from high ground. There is always war in one place, revolution in another, pestilence in a third, interspersed with spots of quiet. These chequers shift places but they do not vanish, so that to an eye which extends itself over the whole earth there is always uniformity of prospect.

For the moment Europe is clear of war. The Emperor and Dutch have signed articles. These are not published; but it is believed the Emperor gets ten millions of florins, the navigation of the Scheld

to Saptinghen, and two forts, so that your conjecture is verified and the Dutch actually pay the piper. The league formed in the Germanic body by the King of Russia is likely to circumscribe the ambitious views of the Emperor on that side and there seems to be no issue for them but on the side of the Turk. Their demarkation does not advance. It is a pity the Emperor would not confine himself to internal regulation. In that way he has done much good. One would think it not so difficult to discover that the improvement of the country we possess is the surest means of increasing our wealth and power. This, too, promotes the happiness of mankind while the others destroy it and are always uncertain of their object. England seems not to permit our friendship to enter into her political calculations as an article of any value. Her endeavor is not how to recover our affections or to bind us to her by alliance, but by what new experiments she may keep up an existence without us; thus leaving us to carry our full weight, present and future, into the scale of her enemy, and seeming to prefer our enmity to our neutrality.

The Barbary corsairs have committed depredations on us. The Emperor of Morocco took a vessel last winter which he has since restored with the crew and cargo. The Algerines took two vessels in July. These are the only captures which were known of at Algiers on the 24th of August. I mention this because the English papers would make the world

believe we have lost an infinite number. I hope soon to be able to inform our countrymen that these dangers are ceased.

There is little here to communicate in the arts and sciences. The great desideratum which was to render the discovery of the balloon useful, is not absolutely desperate. There are two artists at Javel, about four miles from here, who are able to rise and fall at will without expending their gas, and to deflect 45° from the course of the wind. The investigations of air and fire which have latterly so much occupied the chemists, have not presented anything very interesting for some time past.

I send you four books, Rolend, Sigaud de la Fond, Metherie, and Scheele, which will put you in possession of whatever has been discovered as yet on that subject. They are packed in a trunk directed to J. Madison of Orange, which will be carried to Richmond. They are in French, which you say you do not understand well. You lose infinitely by this, as you may be assured that the publications in that language at present far exceed those of England in science. With respect to the *Encyclopédie* it is impossible for me to judge whether to send it to you or not, as I do not know your degree of knowledge in the language nor your intentions as to increasing it. Of this you must decide for yourself and instruct me accordingly.

I was unlucky as to the partridges, pheasants, hares and rabbits which I had ordered to Virginia.

The vessel in which I came over was to have returned to Virginia and to Warwick. I knew I could rely on the captain's care. A fellow-passenger undertook to provide them. He did so, but the destination of the vessel was changed and the poor colonists all died while my friend was looking out for another conveyance.

If I can be useful to your circulating library, the members may be assured of my zealous services. All books except English, Latin and Greek are bought here for about two-thirds of what they cost in England. They had better distribute their invoices accordingly. I must trouble you to present assurances of my friendship to Mr. and Mrs. Randolph of Tuckahoe, Mr. Cary, and their families. My attachment to them is sincere. I wish I could render them useful to them. Tell Mr. Cary I shall enjoy a very real pleasure whenever he shall carry his intentions of writing me into execution and that there is no one who more fervently wishes him well.

Accept yourself assurances of the esteem with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO REVEREND JAMES MADISON.

FONTAINEBLEAU, Oct. 28, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—Seven o'clock, and retired to my fireside, I have determined to enter into conversation with you. This is a village of about 15,000 inhabitants when the court is not here, and 20,000 when

they are, occupying a valley through which runs a brook and on each side of it a ridge of small mountains, most of which are naked rock. The King comes here, in the fall always, to hunt. His court attend him, as do also the foreign diplomatic corps; but as this is not indispensably required and my finances do not admit the expense of a continued residence here, I propose to come occasionally to attend the King's levees, returning again to Paris, distant forty miles. This being the first trip, I set out yesterday morning to take a view of the place. For this purpose I shaped my course towards the highest of the mountains in sight, to the top of which was about a league

As soon as I had got clear of the town I fell in with a poor woman walking at the same rate with myself and going the same course. Wishing to know the condition of the laboring poor I entered into conversation with her, which I began by enquiries for the path which would lead me into the mountain: and thence proceeded to enquiries into her vocation, condition and circumstances. She told me she was a day laborer at 8 sous or 4d. sterling the day: that she had two children to maintain, and to pay a rent of 30 livres for her house (which would consume the hire of 75 days), that often she could get no employment and of course was without bread. As we had walked together near a mile and she had so far served me as a guide, I gave her, on parting, 24 sous. She burst into tears of a gratitude which I could perceive was unfeigned because she was unable to utter a word.

She had probably never before received so great an aid. This little *attendrissement*, with the solitude of my walk, led me into a train of reflections on that unequal division of property which occasions the numberless instances of wretchedness which I had observed in this country and is to be observed all over Europe.

The property of this country is absolutely concentred in a very few hands, having revenues of from half a million of guineas a year downwards. These employ the flower of the country as servants, some of them having as many as 200 domestics, not laboring. They employ also a great number of manufacturers and tradesmen, and lastly the class of laboring husbandmen. But after all there comes the most numerous of all classes, that is, the poor who cannot find work. I asked myself what could be the reason so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work, in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands? These lands are undisturbed only for the sake of game. It should seem then that it must be because of the enormous wealth of the proprietors which places them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting these lands to be labored. I am conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable, but the consequences of this enormous inequality producing so much misery to the bulk of mankind, legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care

to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore to all the children, or to all the brothers and sisters, or other relations in equal degree, is a politic measure and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions or property in geometrical progression as they rise. Whenever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to labor and live on. If for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be provided to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not, the fundamental right to labor the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landholders are the most precious part of a state.

The next object which struck my attention in my walk was the deer with which the wood abounded. They were of the kind called "Cerfs," and not exactly of the same species with ours. They are blackish

indeed under the belly, and not white as ours, and they are more of the chestnut red; but these are such small differences as would be sure to happen in two races from the same stock breeding separately a number of ages. Their hares are totally different from the animals we call by that name; but their rabbit is almost exactly like him. The only difference is in their manners; the land on which I walked for some time being absolutely reduced to a honeycomb by their burrowing. I think there is no instance of ours burrowing. After descending the hill again I saw a man cutting fern. I went to him under pretence of asking the shortest road to town, and afterwards asked for what use he was cutting fern. He told me that this part of the country furnished a great deal of fruit to Paris. That when packed in straw it acquired an ill taste, but that dry fern preserved it perfectly without communicating any taste at all.

I treasured this observation for the preservation of my apples on my return to my own country. They have no apples here to compare with our Redtown pippin. They have nothing which deserves the name of a peach; there being not sun enough to ripen the plum-peach and the best of their soft peaches being like our autumn peaches. Their cherries and strawberries are fair, but I think lack flavor. Their plums I think are better; so also their gooseberries, and the pears infinitely beyond anything we possess. They have nothing better than our sweet-water; but

they have a succession of as good from early in the summer till frost. I am to-morrow to get (to) M. Malsherbes (and uncle of the Chevalier Luzerne's) about seven leagues from hence, who is the most curious man in France as to his trees. He is making for me a collection of the vines from which the Burgundy, Champagne, Bordeaux, Frontignac, and other of the most valuable wines of this country are made. Another gentleman is collecting for me the best eating grapes, including what we call the raisin. I propose also to endeavor to colonize their hare, rabbit, red and grey partridge, pheasants of different kinds, and some other birds. But I find that I am wandering beyond the limits of my walk and will therefore bid vou adieu. Yours affectionately.

TO FRANCIS EPPES.

PARIS, December 11, 1785.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you by Mr. Fitzhugh Aug. 30 and to Mrs. Eppes by the same conveyance Sept. 22; in those as in my former letters I had troubled you on the subject of sending my daughter to me. To the cautions then suggested I am obliged to add another, which our situation with respect to the Barbary powers calls for. You have doubtless heard loose stories as to their captures on us without being able to know the certainty. The truth is that the Emperor of Morocco took one vessel from us the last winter, but he did it merely to induce us to treat. He took

care of the crew, vessel and cargo and delivered the whole up for us to the Spanish coast, clothing the crew well. There is nothing further to be feared from him, as I think he will settle matters with us on tolerable terms.

But the Algerines this fall took two vessels from us and now have twenty-two of our citizens in slavery. Their dispositions are more hostile and they very possibly will demand a higher tribute than America will pay. In this event they will commit depredations on our trade next summer. I do not think the insurance against them on vessels coming to France will be worth one-half per cent, but who can estimate the value of a half per cent on the fate of a child? My mind revolts at the possibility of a capture, so that unless you hear from myself—not trusting the information of any other person on earth—that peace is made with the Algerines, do not send her but in a vessel of French or English property; for these vessels alone are safe from prize by the barbarians. Mr. Barclay, our consul here, expects to go to Philadelphia in the spring and to return again here. He offers to take charge of her. She would be then in the best hands possible and should the time of his return become well ascertained I will write you on the subject. In the meantime it need not prevent your embracing any opportunity which occurs of a sound French or English ship, neither new nor old, sailing in the months of April, May, June or July, under the care

of a trusty person. You see how much trouble I give you till I get this little charge out of your hands.

Europe is quiet. The treaty between the Emperor and Dutch signed, and one between France and the Dutch, very fatal to England. It is called a defensive treaty only, but it is such a one as cannot but give to France the aid of the Dutch in case of war with England. Patsy enjoys a perfect state of health; mine is become more firm. If I continue through the winter as well as I am now I shall resume confidence in my constitution. Mr. Short is at present indisposed with the jaundice. We all pant for America as will every American who comes to Europe. Present us affectionately to Mrs. Eppes and the little ones. I make her always the bearer of my kisses to dear Poll. Assure Mrs. and Mr. Skipwith also of our love and believe me to be, with the highest esteem, dear Sir, your sincere friend and servant.

P. S. I saw in a Virginia paper that somebody gave me as the author of information that we had nothing to fear from the Algerines. No such information ever went from me. The writer probably had not distinguished between the pirates of Algiers and Morocco. Of the peaceful disposition of the latter I have written, but never of the former.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PARIS, January 4, 1786.

SIR,—I have been honored with your letter of September 26, which was delivered me by Mr. Houdon, who is safely returned. He has brought with him a mould of the face only, having left the other parts of his work with his workmen to come by some other conveyance. Doctor Franklin, who was joined with me in the superintendence of this just monument, having left us before what is called the costume of the statue was decided on, I cannot so well satisfy myself as I am persuaded I should not so well satisfy the world as by consulting your own wish or inclination as to this arrangement. Permit me, therefore, to ask you whether there is any particular dress or any particular attitude which you would rather wish to be adopted? I shall take a singular pleasure in having your own idea executed if you will be so good as to make it known to me.

I thank you for the trouble you have taken in answering my inquiries on the subject of Bushnel's machine. Colonel Humphreys could only give me a general idea of it from the effects produced rather than the means contrived to produce them.

I sincerely rejoice that three such works as the opening the Potomac, the James river, Virginia canal from the Dismal, are like to be carried through. There is still a fourth, however, which I had the honor, I believe, of mentioning to you in a letter of

March 15, 1784, from Annapolis. It is the cutting a canal which shall unite the heads of Cayahoga and the Beaver creek. The utility of this and even the necessity of it, if we mean to aim at the trade of the lakes, will be palpable to you. The only question is its practicability. The best information I could get as to this was from General Hand, who described the country as champaign and these waters as heading in lagoons which would be easily united. Maryland and Pennsylvania are both interested to concur with us in this work.

The institutions you propose to establish by the shore in the Potomac and James river companies, given you by the assembly, and the particular objects of these institutions are most worthy. It occurs to me, however, that if the bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge which is in the revisal should be passed, it would supersede the use and obscure the existence of the charity schools you have thought of. I suppose in fact that that bill, or some other like it, will be passed. I never saw one received with more enthusiasm than that was by the House of Delegates in the year 1778 and ordered to be printed and it seemed afterwards that nothing but the extreme distress of our resources prevented it being carried into execution even during the war. It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves, and that, too, of the people with a certain degree of instruction. This it is the business of the state to effect, and on a

general plan. Should you see a probability of this, however, you can never be at a loss for worthy objects of this donation. Even the remitting that proportion of the toll on all articles transported would present itself under many favorable considerations, and it would in effect be to make the state do, in a certain proportion, what they ought to have done wholly; for I think they should clear all the rivers and lay them open and free to all. However, you are infinitely the best judge how the most good may be effected with these shares.

All is quiet here. There are, indeed, two specks in the horizon, the exchange of Bavaria and the demarcation between the Emperor and Turks. We may add as a third the interference by the King of Prussia in the domestic disputes of the Dutch. Great Britain, it is said, begins to look towards us with a little more good humor. But how true this may be I cannot say with certainty. We are trying to render her commerce as little necessary to us as possible by finding other markets for our produce. A most favorable reduction of duties on whale oil has taken place here, which will give us a vent for that article, paying a duty of a guinea and a half a tun only.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PARIS, January 13, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—I had the honor of receiving on the 1st instant your favor of Dec. 17. I had before that, in a letter of Dec. 8, explained to you the cause of the bill not being paid which appeared here in your name, so far as I had been obliged to meddle in it. My letter to Mr. Grand which I inclosed to you will have shown you that I advised him to follow what had been his practice as to your bills. I do assure you, Sir, most solemnly that as to myself no question ever arose in my mind but whether the bill was genuine or not; and that had that been ascertained I should never have presumed to doubt the propriety of the draught. Of that you alone are the judge in my opinion and accountable to nobody but Congress; but least of all to me who have nothing to do with the application of the moneys here and am only forced into the temporary interference by Mr. Grand's refusal to pay anything but on my order. I have sent representations on this subject to the board of the treasury, and shall expect ere long to communicate their orders to Mr. Grand for exercising this office himself according to the rules they shall lay down for his government.

The mention made in your letter of some articles of expense occasions me to observe to you that postage and couriers are allowed to be charged by an express resolution of Congress. That *etrennes* and

house-rent have likewise been charged by the ministers and allowed in the settlement of their accounts. I conceive that illuminations and gala may with some propriety be charged. I think it is the universal custom to allow all ministers charges of these descriptions. I think Dr. Franklin told me he had made diligent enquiry here of the diplomatic corps and had only charged those things which were sanctioned by general usage in the diplomatic accounts. I take the liberty of mentioning these things to you that the want of information may not occasion you to place yourself on a worse footing than that on which you have just title to stand. At the same time I will pray you to make use of the information only for the erecting of your accounts, as I should be unwilling to be named as the author of an advice in which I might seem to be interested. I omitted to observe on the subject of your bill of exchange that I have not had an opportunity of recurring to the letters written by yourself and Mr. Grand to which you refer me. We have been in expectation of receiving a renewal of the bill and that you would be so good as to accompany it with a letter of advice, a precaution which the innumerable forgeries of this city are thought to render necessary even in private cases.

I suppose you will have heard that Dr. Franklin is appointed President of Pennsylvania and has accepted the office. Houdon went over on account of the State of Virginia to take the moulds of General Washington in order to make his statue. He is

returned. He tells me that he heard of the safe arrival of the ass which the King of Spain had been so generous as to send to the General. He could not tell me where he was arrived. A letter from General Washington of Nov. 2 informs me that of £50,000 sterling necessary for opening the Potomac, £44,000 was actually made up and no fear of procuring the balance so that the work is begun. The whole money for opening James river is made up. This is the only American news I have worth communicating.

This government has lately reduced the duties on American whale oil to a guinea and a half a tun which will draw that commerce from London wholly to this country. Mr. Adams having made complaint to the court of London of the ill behavior of Captain Stanhope I am informed though not from him that they disavow his conduct and have severely reprimanded him and given this official information to Mr. Adams. He also required a re-delivery of our prisoners sent to the East Indies. They have informed him that they have given orders for their being brought back. Mr. Barclay will have the honor of delivering you this and of supplying any intelligence I may omit. I am sure you will give him all the aid in your power as to his object. Accept from me assurances of the sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JAMES MADISON.

LONDON, April 25, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Some of the objects of the joint commission with which we were honored by Congress called me to this place about six weeks ago. To-morrow I set out on my return to Paris. With this nation nothing is done and it is now decided that they intend to do nothing with us. The King is against a change of measures, his ministers are against it, some from principle, others from attachment to their places, and the merchants and people are against it. They sufficiently value our commerce, but they are quite persuaded they shall enjoy it on their own terms. This political speculation fosters the warmest feeling in the King's heart, that is his hatred to us. If ever he should be forced to make any terms with us it will be by events which he does not foresee. He takes no pains at present to hide his aversion. Our commission expiring in a fortnight there is an end of all further attempts on our part to arrange matters between the two countries. The treaty of peace being yet unexecuted it remains that each party conduct themselves as the combined considerations of justice and of caution require.

We have had conversations on the subject of our debts with the chairman of the committee of American merchants here. He was anxious for arrangements. He was sensible that it was for the interest of the creditors as well as debtors to allow

time for the payment of the debts due to this country and did not seem to think the time taken by Virginia was more than enough. But we could not help agreeing with him that the courts should be open to them immediately, judgments recoverable, the executions to be divided into so many equal and annual parts as will admit the whole to be paid by the year 1790 and that the payments should be in money and not in anything else. If our law is not already on this footing I wish extremely it were put on it.

When we proceeded to discuss the sum which should be paid we concurred in thinking that the principal and interest preceding and subsequent to the war should be paid. As to interest during the war the chairman thought it justly demandable; we thought otherwise. I need not recapitulate to you the topics of arguments on each side. He said the renunciation of this interest was a bitter pill which they could not swallow. Perhaps he would have agreed to say nothing about it, not expecting to receive it in most cases, yet willing to take the chance of it where debtors or juries should happen to be favorably disposed. We should have insisted on an express declaration that this interest should not be demandable. These conferences were intended as preparatory to authoritative propositions, but the minister not condescending to meet us at all on the subject they ended in nothing. I think the merchants here do not expect to recover interest during

the war in general though they are of opinion they are entitled to it.

I wrote you in a former letter on the subject of a Mr. Paradise who owns an estate in Virginia in right of his wife and who has a considerable sum due him in our loan office. Since I came here I have had opportunity of knowing his extreme personal worth and his losses by the late war. He is from principle a pure republican while his father was as warm a tory. His attachment to the American cause and his candid warmth brought him sometimes into altercations on the subject with his father, and some persons interested in their variance artfully brought up this subject of conversation whenever they met. It produced a neglect in the father. He had already settled on him a sum of money in the funds, but would do no more and probably would have undone that if he could. When remittances from Virginia were forbidden the profits of the Virginia estate were carried into our loan office. Paradise was then obliged to begin to eat his capital in England; from that to part with conveniences and to run in debt.

His situation is now distressing and would be completely relieved could he receive what is due him from our state. He is coming over to settle there. His wife and family will follow him. I never ask unjust preferences for anybody; but if by any just means he can be helped to his money, I own I would be much gratified. The goodness of his heart, his kindness to Americans before, during and since the war, the

purity of his political and moral character, interest me in the events pending over him and which will infallibly be ruinous if he fails to receive his money. I ask of you on his behalf that in pursuing the path of right you will become active for him instead of being merely quiescent were his merit and his misfortunes unknown to you.

I have put into the hands of Mr. Fulwar Skipwith for you a packet containing some catalogues which he will forward. I am with sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO PHILIP MAZZEI.

MARSEILLES, April 4, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure of finding your friend Scria alive, and one of the most considerable merchants here. I delivered him your letter and he has shown me all the attentions which the state of his mind would permit. A few days before my arrival his only son had eloped with jewels and money to the value of 40,000 livres and I believe is not yet heard of. He speaks of you with friendship and will be happy to see you on your way southwardly. He has promised to make me acquainted with a well-informed gardener whom I expect to find among the most precious of my acquaintances. From men of that class I have derived the most satisfactory information in the course of my journey and have sought their acquaintance with as much industry as

I have avoided that of others who would have made me waste my time [*illegible*] good society. For these objects one need not leave Paris. I find here several interesting articles of culture; the best [*illegible*] the best grapes for drying, a smaller [*illegible*] the same purposes without a seed, from Smyrna, olives, capers, pistachio nuts, almonds. All these articles may succeed on or southward of the Chesapeake. From hence my inclination would lead me no further [*illegible*] as I am to see little more than a rocky coast. But I am [*illegible*] here with the hopes of finding something useful in the rice-fields of Piedmont, which are said to be but a little way beyond the Alps. It will probably be the middle of June before I get back to Paris. In the meantime I wish to observe that if this absence, longer than you had calculated, should render an earlier pecuniary supply necessary, lodge a line for me at Aix *poste restant* where I shall find it about the last of this month and I shall with great pleasure do what may be needful for you.

Be so good as to present my respects to the Maison de la Rochefoucault and accept yourself my sincere assurances of esteem and regard from, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant.

TO L'ABBÉ D'ARNAL.

PARIS, July 9, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—I had the honor of informing you when at Nismes that we had adopted in America a method of hanging the upper stone of a grist mill which had been found so much more convenient than the ancient as to have brought it into general use. Whether we derive the invention from Europe or have made it ourselves I am unable to say. The difference consists only in the spindle and horns. On the former plan the horns were of a single piece of iron in the form of a cross with a square hole in the middle, which square hole fitted on the upper end of the spindle. The horns were then fixed in cross grooves in the bottom of the upper stone which was to be laid on the spindle so as that the place of its grinding surface would be perfectly perpendicular to the spindles. This was a difficult and tedious operation and was to be repeated every time the stones were dressed. According to our method two distinct pieces of iron are substituted for the horns. The one in this form

of such breadth and thickness as to support the whole weight of the stone. Its straight ends are to be firmly fixed in one of the cross grooves of the stone, the circular part should rise through the hole in the center of the stone so as to be near its upper surface; in the middle of this semicircular part and on the under surface—

at "'*a*'—should be a dimple to which the upper end of the spindle should be adjusted by giving it a convexity fitted to the concavity of the dimple. The other piece of iron is only a straight bar to be firmly fixed in the other of the cross grooves of the stone and to have a square hole in its center, thus: the corresponding part of the spindle must be squared to fit this hole. The office of the first piece of iron is to suspend the stone, that of the last is to give and continue its motion. The stones being dressed and these pieces firmly fixed in it, it is turned over on the spindle so that the point of the spindle may enter the dimple of the semicircular iron, and the stone be suspended on it freely. It will probably not take at first its true position, which is that of the plane of its grinding surface being truly perpendicular to the spindle.

The workman must, therefore, chip it at the top with a chisel till it hangs in that just position. This being once done it is done forever; for whenever they dress the stone afterwards they have only to return the upper one to its point and it will resume its equilibrium. It sometimes happens that one side of the stone being softer than the other wears faster and so the equilibrium is lost in time. Experience has shown that a small departure from the equilibrium will be rectified by the bed stone which serves as a guide to the running stone till it assumes its motion in a true plane which it will afterwards keep.

But should a defect of the stone render this departure from the equilibrium too considerable it may be necessary to set it to rights at certain periods by chipping it again on the top. I had promised, when I had the honor of seeing you at Nismes, to send you a model of this manner of fixing the mill-stones, but the expense of sending a model by post, the danger of its being lost or destroyed by the *messagerie*, and the hope that I could render it intelligible by a description and figures, have induced me to prefer the latter method. I shall with great pleasure give any further explanations which may be necessary for your perfect comprehension of it, and the more so as it will furnish me with new occasions of assuring you of those sentiments of respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, July 23, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—Frouille, the bookseller here who is engaged in having your book translated and printed, understanding that you are about publishing a sequel to it, has engaged me to be the channel of his prayers to you to favor his operation by transmitting hither the sheets of the sequel as they shall be printed; and he will have them translated by the same hand, which is a good one.

It is necessary for one to explain the passage in

Mr. Barclay's letter of July 13 of which he writes me he had sent you a duplicate wherein he mentions that I had given him a full dispensation from waiting on you in London. Mr. Barclay was arrested in Bordeaux for debt and put into prison. The Parliament released him after five days on the footing of his being consul and minister from the United States to Morocco. His adversaries applied here to deprive him of his privilege. I spoke on the subject to the minister. He told me that the character of consul was no protection at all from private arrest, but that he would try to avail him of the other character. I found, however, that the event might be doubtful and stated the whole in a letter to Mr. Barclay, observing at the same time that I knew of nothing which rendered it necessary for him to come to Paris before his departure for America. He determined, therefore, to go to America immediately, which indeed was his wisest course as he would have been harassed immediately by his creditors.

Our funds here have been out some time and Mr. Grand is at the length of his tether in advancing for us. He has refused very small demands for current occasions and I am not clear he will not refuse my usual one for salary. He has not told me so, but I am a little diffident of it. I shall know in a few days whether he does or not. I cannot approve of his protesting small and current calls. Having had nothing to do with any other banker I cannot say what their practice is, but I suppose it their practice

to advance for their customers when their funds happen to be out in proportion to the sums which they pass through their hands. Mr. Grand is a very sure banker, but a very timid one, and I fear he thinks it possible that he may lose his advances for the United States. Should he reject my draught, would there be any prospect of its being answered in Holland? Merely for my own and Mr. Short's salaries, say 4,500 livres a month? You will have heard that the Emperor has put troops into march on account of the disturbances in Brabant. The situation of affairs in Holland you know better than I do. How will they end? I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most profound esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PARIS, August 6, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—This will be handed you by Doctor Gibbons, a young gentleman who after studying physic and taking his degrees at Edinburgh has passed some time here. He has desired the honor of being known to you, and I find a pleasure in being the instrument of making him so. It is a tax to which your celebrity submits you. Every man of the present age will wish to have the honor of having known, and being known to you. You will find Doctor Gibbons to possess learning, genius and merit. As such I ask leave to present him to you, and of

assuring you at the same time of the sentiments of profound respect and esteem, with which I have the honor to be your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS.

PARIS, December 31, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Parker furnishes me an opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your favors of November 10, December 6, 10, 18, and 25, which I avoid doing through post. The orders on the subject of our captives at Algiers have come to me by the last packet. They are to be kept secret even from the captives themselves lest a knowledge of the interference of government should excite to extravagant demands. The settlement of the prices in the first instance is important as a precedent. Willincks and Van Staphorsts answered that they had money enough to pay the February interest and our draughts for salary for some time, but that the payment of Fiseaux's capital would oblige them to advance of their own money. They observed, too, that the payment of such a sum without the orders of the treasury would lay them under an unnecessary responsibility. I therefore concluded the business by desiring them to pay the year's interest becoming due to-morrow and paying Mr. Fiseaux to quiet the lenders with that till I could procure the orders of the treasury to whom I wrote immediately an account

of the whole transaction. I was the better satisfied with this on receiving your letter of the 25th by which I find it your opinion that our credit may not suffer so materially. The declining the payment came from the Willincks, the Van Staphorsts having offered to advance their money. I enclose you a letter I have received from the Comptroller General and an asset on the subject of our commerce. They are the proofsheets, as, at the moment of my writing my letter I have not yet received the fair ones, but the French columns are correct enough to be understood. I would wish them not to be public till they are made so on the other side of the water. I think the alliance of this court with the two imperial ones is going on well. You will have heard of the Emperor's having attempted to surprise Belgrade and failed in the attempt. This necessarily engaged him in the war and so tends to continue it. I think it settled that this court abandons the Turks.

Mr. Parker takes charge of the ten ounces of double Florence for Mrs. Adams, the silk stockings are not yet ready. I had ordered them to be made by the hermits of Mont Calvaire who are famous for the excellence and honesty of their work and prices. They will come by the first good opportunity. Be so good as to present my respects to her and to be assured of the sincere attachment and respect of, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO EDWARD BANCROFT.

PARIS, January 26, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I have deferred answering your letter on the subject of slaves because you permitted me to do it till a moment of leisure, and that moment rarely comes, and because, too, I could not answer you with such a degree of certainty as to merit any notice. I do not recollect the conversation at Vincennes to which you allude, but can repeat still on the same ground on which I must have done then that as far as I can judge from the experiments which have been made to give liberty to, or rather abandon, persons whose habits have been formed in slavery is like abandoning children. Many Quakers in Virginia seated their slaves on their lands as tenants; they were distant from me, and therefore I cannot be particular in the details because I never had very particular information. I cannot say whether they were to pay a rent in money or a share of the produce, but I remember that the landlord was obliged to plan their crops for them, to direct all their operations during every season and according to the weather; but what is more afflicting, he was obliged to watch them daily and almost constantly to make them work and even to whip them. A man's moral sense must be unusually strong if slavery does not make him a thief. He who is permitted by law to have no property of his own can with difficulty conceive that property is founded in anything but force.

These slaves chose to steal from their neighbors rather than work; they became public nuisances and in most instances were reduced to slavery again. But I will beg of you to make no use of this imperfect information (unless in common conversation). I shall go to America in the spring and return in the fall. During my stay in Virginia I shall be in the neighborhood where many of these trials were made. I will inform myself very particularly of them and communicate the information to you.

Besides these there is an instance since I came away of a young man (Mr. Mays) who died and gave freedom to all his slaves, about 200; this is about a year ago. I shall know how they have turned out. Notwithstanding the discouraging result of these experiments I am decided on my final return to America to try this one. I shall endeavor to import as many Germans as I have grown slaves. I will settle them and my slaves on farms of fifty acres each, intermingled, and place all on the footing of the Metayers (Medictani) of Europe. Their children shall be brought up as others are in habits of property and foresight, and I have no doubt but that they will be good citizens. Some of their fathers will be so, others I suppose will need government; with these all that can be done is to oblige them to labor as the laboring poor of Europe do, and to apply to their comfortable subsistence the produce of their labor, retaining such a moderate portion of it as may be a just equivalent for the use of the

lands they labor and the stocks and other necessary advances.

A word now on Mr. Paradise's affairs. You were informed at the time of the arrangement they had established in their affairs, to wit, reserving four hundred pounds a year for their subsistence, abandoning the rest of their income, about four hundred pounds more, all their credits (one which is eight hundred pounds from an individual and another is one thousand pounds from the State), and the cutting of a valuable wood, to their creditors. Their whole debts amounting but to two thousand three hundred pounds, the term of payment cannot be long if this arrangement can be preserved. I had hoped that the journey to Italy would have fixed Mrs. Paradise with her daughter and left him free to travel or tarry where he liked best, but this journey has been a burden instead of a relief to their affairs. In fact it is evident to me that the society of England is necessary for the happiness of Mrs. Paradise and is perhaps the most agreeable to Mr. Paradise also; it is an object, therefore, to obtain the concurrence of their creditors in the arrangements taken. The inducement to be proposed to them is Miss Paradise joining in a deed in which these dispositions shall be stipulated (which by the laws of Virginia will bind her property there) so that the creditors would be secured of their debts in the event of Mr. Paradise's death. The inducement to Mr. and Mrs. Paradise is that their persons and property shall

be free from molestation and their substance not consumed at law.

We suppose that the creditors will name one trustee and Mr. Paradise another (yourself), fully and solely authorized to receive all remittances from America, to pay to them first their subsistence money and the rest to the creditors till they are fully paid.

Miss Paradise will set out in a few days for London to set her hand to this accommodation; in the meantime they hope you will prepare the ground by negotiating the settlement with the creditors; as far as I have any influence with Mr. or Mrs. Paradise I used it and shall use it for the joint interests of their creditors and themselves, for I view it was clearly their interest to reduce themselves to as moderate an expense as possible till their debts are paid; if this can be effected before my departure in April I will not only aid it here, but have anything done which may be necessary in Virginia when I go there, such as the recording the deed, etc. This journey of Mr. Paradise's will also be an experiment whether their distresses will not be lighter when separated than while together. I shall always be glad to hear from you. Since Mr. Adams' departure I have need of information from that country and should rely much on yours; it will always therefore be acceptable. I am with very sincere esteem, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO THE COUNTESS BARZIZA.

PARIS, July 8, 1788.

MADAM,—The letter of March 15, which you did me the honor to address me, came during my absence on a journey through Holland and Germany, and my first attentions after my return were necessarily called to some objects of business of too pressing a nature to be postponed. This has prevented my acknowledging as soon as I could have wished the honor of receiving your letter. The welcome reception which Mr. and Mrs. Paradise met with in Virginia was due to their own merit which had been well known there before their arrival, and to the esteem for your family entertained in that country. You would experience the same, Madam, were any consideration to tempt you to leave for a while your present situation to visit the transatlantic seat of your ancestors. Heaven has already blessed you with one child, for which accept my sincere congratulations. It may perhaps multiply these blessings on you and in that event your family estate in Virginia may become a handsome and happy establishment for a younger child. It will be a welcome present to a country which will continue to think it has some claims on you. I felicitate you on the prospect of seeing Mr. and Mrs. Paradise at Venice. The happiness of your situation, your virtues and those of the Count Barziza will contribute to re-establish that tranquillity of mind which an unhappy loss

has disturbed and continues to disturb. Sensibility of mind is indeed the parent of every virtue, but it is the parent of much misery too. Nobody is more its victim than Mr. Paradise. Your happiness, your affection and your attentions can alone restore his serenity of mind. I am sure it will find repose in these sources, and that your virtues and those of the Count Barziza will occupy his mind in thinking on what he possesses rather than on what he has lost, and in due time to deliver him up fully to your affections.

I wish to you, Madam, a continuance of all those circumstances of happiness which surround you, and have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Madam, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO C. W. F. DUMAS.

PARIS, July 30, 1788.

SIR,—Your favor of the 24th has just come to hand and that of the 20th June had never been acknowledged. I congratulate you on the news just received of the accession of New Hampshire to the new Constitution, which suffices to establish it. I have the honor to inclose you details on that subject, as also on the reception of Mr. Adams, which you will be so good as to reduce to such a size as may gain admission into the Leyden gazette. We may take a little glory to ourselves, too, on the victory of our Paul

Jones over the Turks commanded by the Captain Pacha, and we may be assured, if it has been as signal as the Russians say, that Constantinople will be bombarded by that officer. Why did the Swedish fleet salute the Russian instead of attacking it? It would make one suspect that their whole movements had in view to divert the Russian fleet from going round if it could be done by hectoring without engaging in the war, well understood that Turkey pays and England guarantees them against all events. It is scarcely possible, however, that all these things can pass over without a war. I think the internal affairs of this country will be settled without bloodshed. I have the honor to be, with very great esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, September 5, 1788.

SIR,—I wrote you the 3d instant and have this day received Mr. Remsen's favor of July 25, written during your absence at Poughkeepsie, and enclosing the ratification of the loan of a million florins for which Mr. Adams had executed bonds at Amsterdam in March last. The expediency of that loan resulting from an estimate made by Mr. Adams and myself, and that estimate having been laid before Congress, their ratification of the loan induces a presumption that they will appropriate the money to the objects of the estimate. I am in hopes, therefore, that orders are

given by the Treasury Board to the commissioners of loans at Amsterdam to apply these moneys accordingly and especially to furnish as soon as they shall have it what may be necessary for the redemption of our captives at Algiers, which is a pressing call. I am not without anxiety however on this subject, because in a letter of July 22d, received this day from the Treasury Board, they say nothing on that subject nor on the arrearages of the foreign officers. They indorse me the order of Congress of the 18th of July for sending to the Treasury Board the books and papers of the office of foreign accounts. I shall accordingly put them into the hands of a person who goes from Paris to-morrow morning by the way of Havre to America and shall endeavor to prevail on him to attend them from the place of his landing to New York that the board may receive them from the hand which receives them from me.

The re-establishment of the parliament and revocation of everything which was done on the 8th of May is expected to take place in three or four days.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON.

PARIS, December 21, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of May 8 and July 6, that of the latter date was only to enclose a book-

seller's proposals for sending books to America. The one of May 8 acknowledged the receipt of yours of Dec. 16. I informed you also in the letter of May 8 that the vinegar was at length lodged for you in the hands of M. Limousin at Havre to be forwarded to the first vessel to Philadelphia. He has never sent it till the last month and then by a vessel bound to Baltimore as you will see by the enclosed bill of lading. However it was in the care of a Mr. Vanet who was to go on to New York and who I hope would give you notice of it. The books also which were lodged with M. Limousin for yourself, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Rittenhouse remained the whole winter at Havre. However, I hope you have long ago received them safe. I sent you as far as the 22d livraison of the *Encyclopédie*. We are now at the 29th. To that number, therefore, and what more may come out before April 1, I shall bring to you, for I have asked of Congress a leave of five or six months' absence of the next year to carry my family home and to arrange my affairs there which were left at sixes and sevens under the idea of soon returning to them.

I shall hope therefore to see you in the course of the summer. I have no doubt about continuing to take out your encyclopædia because I have had your express approbation of doing it and you would expressly desire me to cease if you meant to discontinue. But I am more doubtful as to Dr. Franklin's because my first doing it for him was without orders

and he has never intimated to me a wish to continue. However I shall bring his also, unless he expressly desires the contrary for which he will still have time as I shall not sail till the middle of April. Be so good as to mention these things to him with my sincere respects.

Not having one scrap of news in literature or the arts I must be contented to give you those of the political world. This country is proceeding steadily to form a constitution. The noise in the earlier part of it threatened violence, but as yet not a life has been lost. All hands are employed in drawing plans of bills of rights. Their States-General will probably meet in March. They will obtain with little or no opposition from the court their own periodical meeting, their exclusive right to tax, and a share in the legislation. Some will aim at a habeas corpus law and free press. These will not be so sure in the first session. These occupations render this country very desirous of peace. The insanity of the King of England leaves them tolerably sure of it, as regencies are generally peaceable and there is no other quarter from which they feared being forced into a war. We had supposed the war in the North in a fair way of being stopped when all of a sudden disturbances in Poland seem to threaten a rupture between Russia and Poland. In this case the former must make her peace with the Turks by the cession of the Crimea and the scene of war will be changed. As yet, however, the symptoms are not decisive enough to say that it

will take that turn. I am happy to find our new Constitution is accepted and our government likely to answer its purposes better. I hope that the addition of a bill of rights will bring over to it a greater part of those now opposed to it; and that this may be added without submitting the whole to the risk of a new convention. It would still have one fault in my eye, that of perpetual re-eligibility of the President. But if my fears on that should be verified in the experiment I trust to the good sense of our children that they will apply the remedy which shall suit the circumstances then existing. Remember me affectionately to Mr. Rittenhouse and his family. Join my daughter in the same greetings as well as in those I desire you to present to your mother. Be assured yourself of the sentiments of esteem and attachment with which I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

P. S. Jan. 1, 1789. My letter having waited a conveyance till this date I will add a word on the rigors of the winter in which we are. They have been excessive since the middle of November and are likely to continue. The mercury has been here as low as $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of Fahrenheit below nought, that is to say $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below the freezing point, which is more than was ever known before. I received letters from Marseilles this morning informing me the winter is more severe there than it was in 1709, when they lost all their olive trees. They apprehend the same

calamity now; and it will take twenty years to replace them.

Jan. 12. After sealing my letter yours of Oct. 23d came to hand. I am glad to hear of Dr. Franklin's health; having had no news of him since July we were inquiet. I have seen Mr. and Mrs. Tellier—— the vinegar you find is on its way. You will have the enjoyment the longer. I have not had time to read your vagary as you call it because I opened the letter only in the moment this is going off. I am sure it will please me as all your vagaries do. Adieu.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, March 1, 1789.

SIR,—My last letters have been of the 11th, 12th and 21st of January. The present conveyance being through the post to Havre, from whence a vessel is to sail for New York, I avail myself of it principally to send you the newspapers. That of Leyden of the 24th contains a note of the Chargé des Affaires of France at Warsaw which is interesting. It shows a concert between France and Russia; it is a prognostication that Russia will interfere in the affairs of Poland, and if she does it is most probable that the King of Poland must be drawn into the war. The revolution which has taken place in Geneva is a remarkable and late event. With the loss of only two or three lives, and in the course of one week, riots

begun at first on account of a rise in the price of bread were improved and pointed to a reformation of their constitution, and their ancient constitution has been almost completely re-established. Nor do I see any reason to doubt of the permanence of the re-establishment.

The King of England has shown such marks of returning reason that the regency bill was postponed in the House of Lords on the 19th inst. It seems now probable there may be no change of the ministry, perhaps no regent. We may be sure, however, that the present ministry make the most of those favorable symptoms. There has been a riot in Brittany begun on account of the price of bread but converted into a quarrel between the noblesse and Tiers-Etat. Some few lives were lost in it. All is quieted for the present moment. In Burgundy and Franche-compte the opposition of the nobles to the views of government is very warm. Everywhere else, however, the revolution is going on quietly and steadily and the public mind ripening so fast that there is great reason to hope a good result from the States-General. Their numbers—about twelve hundred—give room to fear, indeed, that they may be turbulent.

Having never heard of Admiral Paul Jones since the action in which he took part before Oczahow, I began to be a little uneasy. But I have now received a letter from him dated at St. Petersburg, the 31st of January, where he had just arrived at the desire

of the Empress. He has hitherto commanded on the Black Sea. He does not know whether he shall be employed there, or where, the ensuing campaign. I have no other intelligence which would not lead me into details improper for the present mode of conveyance. After observing, therefore, that the gazettes of France and Leyden to the present date accompany this I shall only add assurances of the sincere esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN PAUL JONES.

PARIS, March 23, 1789.

(*By courier of France.*)

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of January 20 / 31 from St. Petersburg came safe to hand and is the only proof we have received of your existence since you left Copenhagen. I mention this that reflecting how and what you have written heretofore you may know how and what you may write hereafter. I shall put nothing into this letter but what is important to you and unimportant to any government through which it may pass.

To begin with your private affairs. I received three days ago from M. Amoureux a bill for 1,900 louis payable at three (usances?), which I have delivered to Messrs. Grand and Co., and desired them to receive it when due and hold it subject to your order.

This Amoureux mentions as forming *à une bagatelle près*, the balance due you.

Having been * * * * to carry into execution the orders for the medals, I have contracted with the workmen for them and they are all in hand. Yours is to be executed by Dupré who is, I think, the best among them; and it will be done in the course of the summer. My instructions as to these medals are general, to wit: I am to deliver one of gold or silver—as the case may be—to the person who is the subject; to send one of silver to every sovereign and one of copper to every University of Europe (Great Britain excepted), two hundred copies to Congress and one apiece to Lafayette, Rochambeau, Destaing and Degrasse. I am at liberty to deliver no others. Not even at the orders and expense of the persons who are the subjects of the medals. But your wish will be fulfilled as to the Empress, because I shall send her a suite of the whole medals under the general order.

I had lately presented to me a demand for about £4,000 from the French consul at Bergen, without being told for what. My answer was that I knew of no cause for such an application and could not pay it. I suspect this demand has some connection with a very large packet of official papers I received addressed to you from Denmark or Norway in the Danish language. By the bye, that business makes no way; though I have written to Count Bernstorff pressing a settlement, and often spoken to their envoy here, I cannot obtain one word of an answer of any kind.

Another word on the subject of your medal. Immediately on the receipt of your letter I wrote to the medallist, *cul-de-sac* Tetebout (his name is Renaud), and bought a copy of the medal he had made, which I gave to Dupré with the observations of your letter on it. He will avail himself of so much of the design as is good and as is permitted by the resolution of the Académie, to whom I applied for devices for all the medals. Gordon's history furnished me a good relation of your engagement though the author has permitted himself an impertinence or two relative to you.

Renaud's account is 852, as you will see by the inclosed state of it. Mr. Grand will pay him on your order so much of it as you find just. Houdon has promised to have the eight busts ready as soon as possible, and I shall have him paid out of the same fund. They will be ready packed against your orders arrived as to the persons to whom they were destined. For you will please to observe that neither your letter of January 20 / 31 nor the extracts forwarded in that of * * * and September 16 / 23 mention the names of the persons they are to be sent to. In like manner your letter of January 20 / 31 says it incloses an extract of the journal of your campaign in 1779. But none such was inclosed. Mr. Short, now in Italy, will be here to receive your orders for the distribution of the busts. I shall be absent in America from the first of May to the end of November, as I have asked leave to go and carry my family

home and arrange my affairs, and shall return before the winter sets in. But the busts will be finished and paid for before I go, so that nothing will remain for Mr. Short but to forward them. * * * * * my sentiments respecting the Algerines. I shall certainly make them a subject of consultation with our government while I shall be in America. My favorite project is still to procure a concurrence of the powers at war with them; that that concurrence continue till the strength of those barbarians at sea be totally annihilated and that the combined force employed in effecting this shall not be disturbed in its operation by wars or other incidents occurring between the powers composing it.

Our new Constitution was acceded to in the course of the last summer by all the states except North Carolina and Rhode Island. Massachusetts, Virginia and New York though they accepted unconditionally yet gave it as a perpetual instruction to their future delegates never to cease urging certain amendments. North Carolina insisted that the amendments should be made before she would accede. The more important of these amendments will be effected by adding a bill of rights; and even the friends of the Constitution are become sensible of the expediency of such an addition were it only to conciliate the opposition. In fact this security for liberty seems to be demanded by the general voice of America and we may conclude it will unquestionably be added. New York, Virginia and North Caro-

lina have also demanded that a term be fixed after which the President shall be no longer eligible. But the public has been silent on this demand; so we may doubt its success. In the meantime the elections for the new government were going on quietly at the date of our last letters. We have the names of most of the Senators but not of the representatives. There was no question but General Washington would be elected President; and we know that he would accept it, though with vast reluctance. The new Congress was to meet the first Wednesday in this month, at New York. The tickets of election of the President would then be opened, and I presume that General Washington is now at New York and the new legislature in a course of business. The only competitions for the Vice-Presidentship were Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Hancock. It was thought the former would be chosen.

Though the new Constitution was adopted in eleven states, yet in those of Massachusetts, Virginia and New York it was by very small majorities; and the minorities in the two last are far from the laudable acquiescence of that of Massachusetts. Governor Clinton in New York and Mr. Henry in Virginia are moving heaven and earth to have a new convention to make capital changes. But they will not succeed. There has been just opposition enough to produce probably further guards to liberty without touching the energy of the government and this will bring over the bulk of the opposition to the side of the new government.

In this country things go on well. The States-General are to meet the 27th of April. The report of Mr. Necker to the King seems to promise the public: 1. That the King will pretend in future to no power of laying a new tax or continuing an old one. 2. That he will not take upon him to appropriate public moneys to be given by the States. Of course they are to appropriate. 3. That the States shall convene at fixed epochs. 4. That the King will concur with them in modifying *lettres de cachet*. 5. And in giving a wholesome liberty to the press. 6. That ministers shall be responsible, and 7. That all this shall be so solemnly fixed that the King nor his successors will have any power to change it. Nothing has been said about giving to the States a participation in legislation, but it will be insisted on. The States will be composed of about three hundred clergy, three hundred nobles, and six hundred commoners, and their first question will be whether they will vote by orders or persons. I think the latter will be decided. If this difficulty be got over I see no other to a very happy settlement of their affairs. They will consolidate and fund their debts and this circumstance, as well as the stability which the changes will give to the proceedings of their government, will enable them after the present year to take any part they please in the settlement of its affairs. You have heard of the insanity of the King of England. His ministers pretend he is recovered. In truth he is better, but not well. Time will be neces-

sary for his perfect recovery and to produce a confidence that it is not merely a lucid interval.

I shall be glad to hear from you as often as possible, and have the honor to be, with very great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS

PARIS, May 10, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Since mine of January 14 yours of Jan. 20, March 1 have been handed to me; the former by Mr. Jones, whom I am glad to know on your recommendation and to make him the channel of evidencing to you how much I esteem whatever comes from you. The internal agitations of this country and the inactivities to which England is reduced by the state of imbecility in which the madness of the King has terminated, will leave the southwestern parts of Europe in peace for the present year. Denmark will probably continue to furnish only its stipulated succors to Russia, without engaging in the war as a principal. Perhaps a pacification may be effected between Sweden and Russia; though at present there is little appearance of it and that we may expect that the war will go on this year between the two empires, the Turks and Swedes, without extending any further. Even the death of the Emperor, should it take place, would hardly withdraw his dominions from the war this summer.

The revolution in this country has gone on hitherto with a quickness, a steadiness and a progress unexampled, but there is danger of a balk now. The three orders which compose the States-General seem likely to stumble at the threshold on the great parliamentary question, How shall they vote, by orders or persons? If they get well over this question there will be no difficulty afterwards, there is so general concurrence in the great points of constitutional reformation. If they do not get over this question—and this seems possible—it cannot be foreseen what issue this matter will take. As yet, however, no business being begun, no votes taken, we cannot pronounce with certainty the exact status of parties. This is a summary view of European affairs.

Though I have not official information of your election to the Presidency of the Senate, yet I have such information as renders it certain. Accept, I pray you, my sincere congratulations. No man on earth pays more cordial homage to your work, nor wishes more fervently your happiness.

Though I detest the appearance even of flattery, I cannot always suppress the effusiveness of my heart. Present me affectionately to Mrs. Adams, Colonel and Mrs. Smith. I hope to see you all this summer and to return this fall to my prison, for all Europe would be a prison to me were it ten times as big. Adieu, my dear friend. Your affectionate humble servant.

TO NATHANIEL CUTTING.

PARIS, June 7, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Though your last letter—received yesterday—supposes you will be setting out for Paris before this can reach you, yet on the bare possibility of your being delayed I just write a line to acknowledge the receipt of that letter and of one of May 22, and to thank you particularly for the one received yesterday, which conveyed very interesting intelligence which I had not before. The latest letters here from America are of April 10; since the discontinuance of the Havre packet my intelligence from America has been miserably defective.

I had high hopes of a favorable issue to the revolution of this country till about ten days ago there began to be room to fear. The aspect even at this time is discouraging though not quite as much as it was a week ago. By the time of your arrival here things will probably take some evident correction.

Mr. Rutledge lodges Hotelle d'Angleterre, rue St. Honoré. There are in the same hotel Mr. Paradise, Colonel and Mrs. Blackden and Mr. Barlow, all Americans, so that you might like to lodge there. I sent to Mr. Rutledge the paragraph letter respecting him.

In hopes of seeing you here before I depart and doubting whether this will find you at London, I will only add assurances of esteem and attachment with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

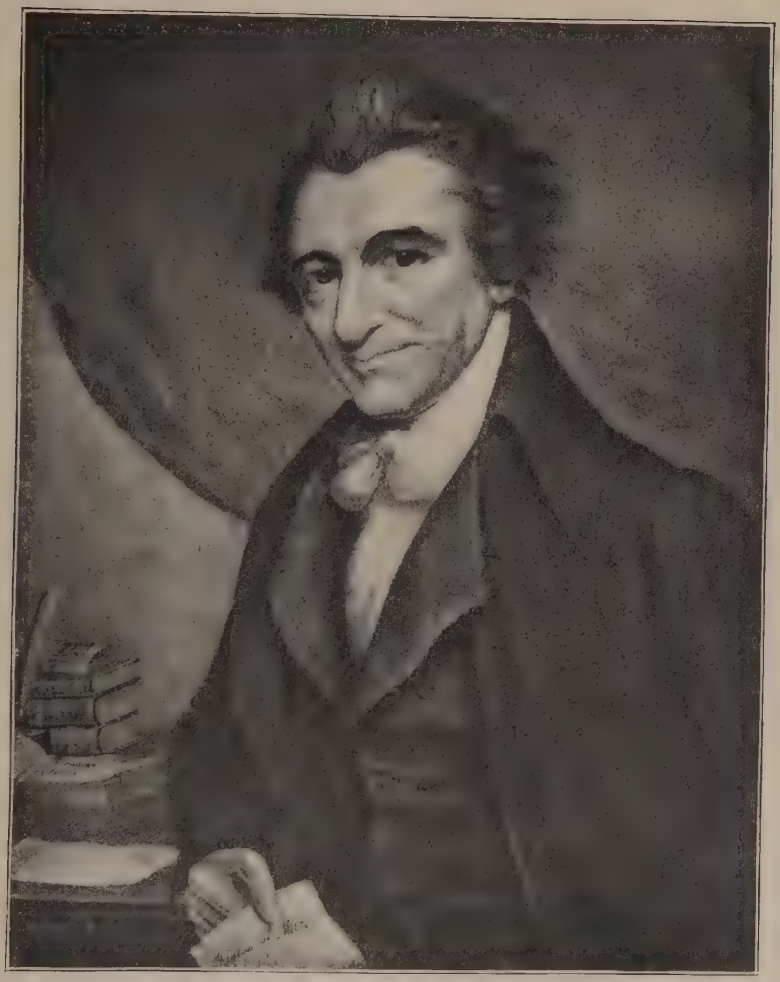
Thomas Paine

(1737–1809.)

Reproduction from the Original Painting by George Romney.

Thomas Paine was born in the village of Thetford, England. After engaging in his father's trade of staymaker, for some time in London, he secured a place in the Excise. About the year 1761 he became a school teacher, but later relinquished the position to re-enter the Excise. Here he drew up a statement of grievances under which he and his fellow-workers labored. Its style attracted the attention of one of the commissioners who was induced thereby to give Paine a letter of introduction to Benjamin Franklin. Upon the latter's advice he emigrated o America where he began contributing articles to various periodicals. In 1775 he assumed editorship of the "Philadelphia Magazine." A year later he published his book, "Common Sense" which won him high honors and an award from the Legislature of Pennsylvania of £500. Burke referred to this work as "that celebrated pamphlet which prepared the minds of the people for independence." In 1781 he was chosen to accompany Col. Lawrence to France to negotiate a loan. On his return to America, in acknowledgment of his services to the cause of the War of Independence, he was given an official appointment, a gift of three thousand dollars and a small estate near New Rochelle, N. Y. After the Revolution ended he went to London to pursue mechanical studies in which he had always excelled. While there he published his "Rights of Man" in answer to Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution." This work was condemned as seditious. Its author was brought to trial and found guilty. Paine, however, escaped and went to France where he became a member of the National Convention. His pamphlet pleading for the life of Louis XVI caused Robespierre to throw him in prison where he remained up to the time of Robespierre's downfall.

In 1795, appeared his famous "Age of Reason" which, though denounced as atheistic in its doctrines, expressly inculcates a belief in God. He lived in France until the year 1802, producing a voluminous amount of work upon social, political and theological subjects. In 1802 Jefferson, then President of the United States, offered Paine an opportunity to return to America which he accepted. He spent the latter years of his life in writing about the building of war-ships, iron-bridges and kindred matters. Eleven years after Paine's death, in New York, in 1809, Cobbett removed his bones and relics to England. A monument was erected to his memory in 1839, near his birthplace. There is also a fine statue of Paine in the vicinity of New Rochelle, New York.



TO THOMAS PAINE.

PARIS, July 13, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you the day before yesterday by Mr. Paradise. I write now by post. The case described in that letter, page three, line four to eleven, has happened. Mr. Necker was dismissed from office the evening of the 11th and set out for Geneva. This was not generally known in Paris till yesterday afternoon. The mobs immediately shut up all the playhouses. The foreign troops were advanced into the city, engagements took place between some of them and the people. The first was in the Place St. Louis XV, where a body of German cavalry being drawn up the people posted themselves upon and behind the piles of stones collected there for bridges, attacked and drove off the cavalry with stones. I suspect the cavalry rallied and returned, as I heard shortly after in the same spot a considerable firing. This was a little before dusk and it is now early in the morning, so I have not ascertained any particulars. Monsieur de Montmorin has resigned. It is said Baron de Breteuil is taken into the ministry, but I cannot affirm this. The progress of things here will be subject to checks from time to time of course. Whether they will be great or small will depend on the army. But they will be only checks. I am, dear Sir, with great esteem, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN BONDFIELD.

PARIS, July 16, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I am honored with yours of the 11th inst. and lament much that I cannot avail myself of so excellent an opportunity of going to America as the Washington offers. But not having yet received my permission I am not at liberty to go.

The tumults in Paris which took place on the change of the ministry, the slaughter of the people in the assault of the Bastile, the beheading the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of it and the Prevost de Merchands, excited in the King so much concern that, bursting from the shackles of his ministers and advisers, he went yesterday morning to the States-General with only his two brothers, opened his heart to them, asked them what he could do to restore peace and happiness to his people and showed himself ready to do everything for that purpose, promising particularly to send away the troops. The heat of the city is as yet too great to give entire credit to this and they continue to arm and organize *bourgeoisie*. But I think you may be assured of the honest sincerity of the King in this last transaction which came from himself, and that no other act of violence will come from him. He returned to the chateau afoot and the whole States-General with him. I am, with great esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO JOHN JAY.

PARIS, August 5, 1789.

SIR,—I wrote you the 19th of the last month with a postscript of the 21st and again on the 23d and 29th. Those letters went by private conveyance; this goes by the London post.

Since my last some small and momentary tumults have taken place in this city in one of which a few of the rioters were killed by the city militia. No more popular executions have taken place. The capture of the Baron de Besenval, commandant of the Swiss troops, as he was flying to Switzerland, and of the Duke de la Vanguger endeavoring to escape by sea, would endanger new interposition of the popular arm were they to be brought to Paris. They are, therefore, confined where they were taken. The former of these being unpopular with the troops under his command, on account of oppressions, occasioned a deputation from their body to demand justice to be done on him and to avow the devotion of the Swiss troops to the cause of the nation. They had before taken side in part only.

Mr. Necker's return contributed much to establish tranquillity, though not quite as much as was expected. His just intercessions for the Baron de Besenval and other fugitives dampened very sensibly the popular ardor towards him. Their hatred is stronger than their love. Yesterday the other ministers were named. The Archbishop of Bordeaux is

Garde des Sceaux; M. de la Tourdepin, minister of war; the Prince of Beauvon is taken into the council and the *feuille des benefices* given to the Archbishop of Bordeaux. These are all of the popular party; so that the ministry (M. de la Luzerne excepted) and the council, being all in reformation principles, no further opposition may be expected from that quarter.

The national assembly now seriously set their hands to the work of the constitution. They decided a day or two ago the question whether they should begin by a declaration of rights, by a great majority in the affirmative. The negatives were of the clergy who fear to trust the people with the whole truth. The declaration itself is now on the carpet.

By way of corollory to it they last night mowed down a whole legion of abuses, as you will see by the *arretté* which I have the honor to inclose you. This will stop the burning of chateaux and tranquillize the country more than all the addresses they could send them. I expressed to you my fears of the impracticability of debate and decision in a room of twelve hundred persons as soon as Mr. Necker's determination to call that number was known. The inconveniences of their number have been distressing to the last degree, though as yet they have been employed in work which could be done in the lump. They are now proceeding to instruments every word of which must be weighed with precision. Heretofore, too, they were hooped together by a common enemy. This is no longer the case. Yet a thorough

view of the wisdom and rectitude of this assembly disposes me more to hope they will find some means of surmounting the difficulty of their numbers, than to fear that yielding to the unmanageableness of debate in such a crowd, and to the fatigue of the experiment, they may be driven to adopt in gross some one of the many projects which will be proposed. There is a germ of schism in the pretensions of Paris to form its municipal establishment independently of the authority of the nation. It is not yet proceeded so far as to threaten danger. The occasion does not permit me to send the public papers; but nothing remarkable has taken place in the other parts of Europe. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL HENRY KNOX.

PARIS, September 12, 1789.

SIR,—In a letter which I had the honor of writing to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs some three or four years ago I informed him that a workman had undertaken by the help of moulds and other means to make all the parts of the musket so exactly alike as that mixed together promiscuously any one part would serve equally for every musket. He had then succeeded as to the lock both of the officers' fusil and the soldiers' musket, from a promiscuous collection of parts. I put

together myself half a dozen locks taking the first pieces which came to hand. He has now completed the barrels, stock and mounting of the officers' fusil and is proceeding on those of the soldiers' musket. This method of forming the fire-arm appears to me so advantageous when repairs become necessary that I have thought it my duty not only to mention to you the progress of this artist but to purchase and send you a half dozen of his officers' fusils. They are packed in a box marked TI no. 36, are sent to Havre, from whence they shall be forwarded to New York. The barrels and furniture are to their stocks, to protect the warping of the wood. The locks are in pieces. You will find them, tools for putting them together, also a single specimen of his soldiers' lock. He formerly told me, and still tells me, that he will be able, after a while, to furnish them cheaper than the common musket of the same quality, but at first they will not be so cheap in the first cost though economy in repairs will make them so in the end. He cannot tell me exactly at what price he can furnish them, nor will he be able immediately to furnish any great quantity annually; but with the aid of the government he expects to enlarge his establishment greatly.

If the situation of the finances of this country should oblige the government to abandon him he would prefer removing with all his people and implements to America, if we should desire to

establish such a manufacture, and he would expect our government to take all his implements on their own account on what they have cost him. He talks of about 3,000 guineas. I trouble you with these details and with the samples: 1. That you may give the idea of such an improvement to our own workmen, if you think it might answer any good end. 2. That all the arms he shall have for sale may be engaged for our government if he continues here and you think it important to engage them. That you may consider and do me the honor of communicating your determination, whether in the event of his establishment being abandoned by this government, it might be thought worth while to transfer it to the United States on conditions somewhat like those he has talked of. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO WILLIAM BINGHAM.

PARIS, September 25, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of April 16 came to my hands but a few days ago and found me much occupied with preparations for my visit to America on which I set out to-morrow. It was not till yesterday, therefore, that I could go to la Muette where the shops are established for making the carding and spinning apparatus. I enclose you

a note from Mr. Milne who is at the head of the work. To the details contained in that I need only add that a complete set of machines can be delivered within five weeks from the date of the order. I say nothing about models of them because they would cost near as much as machines and would be much less perfect. On this view of the matter you will be able to give your orders either for one of each kind of machine or for a complete set which would comprehend four of the spinning machines because one of the other kinds employs fully four of that. Should you desire only one of each kind it will cost less than half of the sum named in the memorandum. Mr. Short, who remains here during my absence, will receive and execute any order you will be pleased to give; but as the sum to be paid is considerable it would be necessary to him to be furnished with it. One-half is to be paid in advance and the other half after a very short interval.

I shall be happy on my return to render every service I can to the society for encouraging manufactures. I have not yet been honored with the commands of Mrs. Bingham announced in your letter. I can only, therefore, at this moment, give her assurances of my readiness to serve her and add to yourself those sentiments of esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO THE BARON DE GEISMER.

PARIS, November 20, 1789.

You have had great reason, my dear Sir, to wonder that you have been so long receiving an answer to your request relative to the drawing of a cabriolet and phaeton. Your object was to have such drawings as that a workman could work by them. A painter's eye draught would not have answered this purpose, and, indeed, to be sure of having them done with the accuracy necessary to guide a workman, I could depend on nobody but myself. But the work was to be done principally in an open court and there came on between two and three months of such intense cold as rendered this impossible. Since the season has become milder I have devoted such little scraps of time to this object as I was master of, and I now enclose you the drawings. They are made with such scrupulous exactness in every part that your workman may safely rely on them. I must except from this the drawing of the carriage—*la train*—of the phaeton. I took less pains about this because I did not like it. They make light crans-necks which are preferable. This drawing was made for the sake of the body—*la caisse*—the circular ribs of that are round rods of iron about a half inch diameter. If you would have the body of the cabriolet higher it is made so by raising the

lock between the shaft and axle, or by putting in its place an iron in this form,

I must return you many thanks for your very great attentions * * * * * * * * * * *

Our late informations from America are that our new Constitution will begin [in] March and with an almost universal approbation. In order to reconcile those who still remain opposed to it a declaration of rights will be added. General Washington will undoubtedly be President. I have asked leave to pay a short visit to my own country. I expect to go out in the ensuing spring and to return in autumn. I shall pass two months at Monticello. The revolution in this country—for such we may call it—is going on smoothly and will, I think, end in rendering the nation more free and more powerful. Their public stocks have been rising slowly but steadily ever since the accession of Mr. Necker.

I forget whether I mentioned to you that my wines from Hocheim succeed to admiration. I enclose you a pretty little popular tune which will amuse you for a day or so.

I am, with the most perfect esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your sincere friend and humble servant.

TO DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

NEW YORK, June 12, 1790.

DEAR SIR,—I know not what apology to make for the trouble I am about to give you. I am sure I must call your public spirit in aid of your private friendship to me.

You will see by the head of the enclosed report that the House of Representatives have instructed me to lay before them a plan for establishing uniform weights, measures and coins. Five and twenty years ago I should have undertaken such a task with pleasure because the sciences on which it rests were then familiar to my mind and the delight of it. But taken from them through so great a length of time and forced by circumstances into contemplations of a very different nature and much less pleasing, I have grown rusty in my former duties. To render me more unequal to the task it comes on me in the moment when I am separated from all my books and papers, which had been left in Paris and Virginia; and this place yields fewer resources in the way of books than could have been imagined. Thus situated I have done what I could toward fulfilling the object of the House of Representatives and I think myself happy in having such a resource as your friendship and your learning to correct what I have prepared for them. The necessity I am under must be my apology. It is desirable for the public that the

plan should be free from errors; it is desirable for me that they should be corrected privately by a friend rather than before the world at large by the unfeeling hand of criticism.

Do then, my dear Sir, read it over with all that attention of which you are so much the master and correct with severity everything you find in it which is not mathematically just, and while I ask your attention to every part of it I will make some notes on particular things. It was not till I had got through the work that I was able to get a sight of Whitehurst's on the same subject. Mr. Madison procured it for me from a library in Philadelphia, but on perusal of it his plan of two pendulums appeared to me on the whole less eligible than Leslie's of the vibrating rod. How has it been inferred that Sir Isaac Newton's calculation of the length of the pendulum for the latitude of London is 39.2 inches? From his general table in the Principia, book 3, I deduce 39.1682. Am I wrong? If so, I may be equally wrong in the calculation of 39.1285 miles for latitude 38°, in which an error would be fundamentally important, and, therefore, I ask your peculiar attention to that. What do you think of the vibrating rod? Is it not clear of some objections which lie against the pendulum? and is it liable to any of which that is clear? and which is the best on the whole? I am too little familiar with the mechanism of the clock to know how the rod can be adapted to a machinery which

shall maintain and count its vibrations, without accelerating them by its power or retarding them by its friction, in short, which shall leave the rod free to make its vibrations uninfluenced by any circumstance but its own length. On this point no man in the world can judge or contrive better than yourself. On this, then, and all the other points of the report, pray give me the full benefit of your assistance. In the trouble I am giving you I feel it as a circumstance of additional misfortune that I am pressed in time. The session of Congress is drawing to a close. Nothing will keep them together after the money bills are got through, and this will be pretty soon. I am obliged, therefore, to ask your immediate attention to this subject as I must give in the report before they rise. I suppose they will have it printed for consideration to be taken up at their next meeting.

I will not weary you with apologies though I feel powerfully the necessity of them. I am, in all times and places, your sincere friend and humble servant.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
(ALEXANDER HAMILTON)

PHILADELPHIA, June 25, 1791.

SIR,—Your favor of the 8th inst. could only be received on my return here and I have this morning been considering its contents. I think with you

that it will be interesting to receive from different countries the details it enumerates. Some of these I am already in a regular course of receiving. Others * * * * well executed will scarcely need to be repeated. As to these I already possess what may answer your views in part. I must therefore give you the trouble to call on me in some * * * * in order that after seeing what I possess you may decide on the proper supplement. I think it advisable not to trouble gentlemen abroad with sending what we have already, because the less we give them to do the more secure we shall be of having it done. I am, with most respectful esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO T. M. RANDOLPH.

PHILADELPHIA, July 3, 1791.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote to Maria this day sennight and to Martha three days before, to wit, June 23. In this letter I asked information to be obtained from Colonel Lewis relative to my tobacco of which I had heard nothing. But having received the day after a letter from him giving me full information, I mentioned in mine to Maria that no notice should be taken of my desire expressed in the letter to her sister; lest any accident should have happened to the letter to Maria I repeat here that no enquiry of Colonel Lewis is necessary.

The President is not yet arrived, but we expect him the day after to-morrow. He has probably protracted his journey so as to avoid the ceremonies of to-morrow. We expect daily to hear the events of the expedition under General Scott into the Indian country. Perhaps you will hear it sooner than we shall. Having nothing to communicate in the line of public news I will state something personal. You will observe by the enclosed and preceding papers that I am mentioned on the subject of Paine's pamphlet on the Rights of Man; and you will have seen a note of mine prefixed to that pamphlet whence it has been inferred that I furnished the pamphlet to the printer and procured its publication. This is not true. The fact was this: Mr. Beckley had the only copy of that pamphlet in town. He lent it to Mr. Madison, who lent it to me under the injunction to return it to Mr. Beckley within the day. Beckley came for it before I had finished reading it and desired as soon as I had done I would send it to a Mr. Jonathan B. Smith whose brother was to reprint it. Being an utter stranger to Mr. J. B. Smith I explained to him in a note that I sent the pamphlet to him by order of Mr. Beckley, and to take off somewhat of the dryness of the note I added that I was glad to find it was to be reprinted here, etc., as you have seen in the printed note. I thought so little of this note that I did not even retain a copy of it; and without the least information or suspicion that

it would be published, out it comes the next week at the head of the pamphlet. I knew immediately that it would give displeasure to some gentlemen just by the chair of government who were in sentiment with Burke and as much opposed to the sentiments of Paine.

I could not disavow my note, because I had written it. I could not disavow my approbation of the pamphlet, because I was fully in sentiment with it, and it would have been trifling to have disavowed merely the publication of the note approving at the same time of the pamphlet. I determined, therefore, to be utterly silent except so far as verbal explanations could be made.

The Vice-President, who is at Boston, took up the cudgels under the name of Publicola. He is in turn assailed by a host of republican champions. I think it probable he will be aided by some of his compeers, but, more cautious than he, they will mask themselves better. For my part I am determined to let them write and wrangle as they please without intermeddling in word or deed.

I am unable as yet to fix a time for my trip to Virginia. It must depend on the movements of the President. I foresee nothing in the public affairs which threatens impediment. Present me affectionately to my daughters, and believe me to be, dear Sir, yours sincerely.

TO JAMES MADISON.

PHILADELPHIA, July 21, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favors of July 10 and 13 have been duly received and I now return the pamphlet enclosed in the latter with thanks for the perusal. The author has the appearance of knowing better what has passed in England than in America. As to the latter, to be sure, he has been ignorant enough. I am sincerely sorry that Freneau has declined coming here. Though the printing business be sufficiently full here, yet I think he would have set out on such advantageous ground as to have been sure of success. His own genius in the first place is so superior to that of his competitors. I should have given him the perusal of all my letters of foreign intelligence and all foreign newspapers; the publication of all proclamations and other public notices within my department and the printing of the laws, which, added to his salary, would have been a considerable aid. Besides this, Fenno's being the only weekly or semi-weekly newspaper and under general condemnation for its toryism and its incessant efforts to overturn the government, Freneau would have found that ground as good as unoccupied. P***e will not be appointed to the place I had recommended him for. I have a letter from Mazzei asking information of his affairs. I must, therefore, ask from you the letter you were to write me as to Dohrman; he

desires to be affectionately remembered to you. He is declared, with the consent of the Diet, chargé des affaires of the King of the nation.

No news yet from General Scott. Mr. Randolph writes me that our harvest is safely in, in general. That the quantity will be one-half as much again as the acre usually yields and the quality of first rate. The price offered is 5/6 at Richmond. Tobacco there is still 18/ to 20/. I have European letters and papers to the 8th of May. The Empress has notified the English factory in Russia that the peace between her and Great Britain is likely to be broken, but knowing their good conduct they shall be welcome to remain in her dominions. She pays a compliment to the British nation and says she considers it only a war with their ministers. Denmark has made a warm offer of mediating alone. Prussia has notified the Porte that they are free to conclude a peace with Russia without any mediation and that it will not be disagreeable to them. But the Porte has refused to relinquish the mediation of Prussia and England, and has also declined accepting that offered by Spain. France is going on steadily with its work. On the 7th of May a report of a committee was given in to the assembly confirming their former plan as to the mode of the settling the constitution of their colonies, adding further that the colonies should have the initiative (exclusively) as to the condition of the people of color, and that each colony should send deputies

to the French port of St. Martins to a Congress which should propose a general form of constitution. This was ordered to be printed and taken up at a future day, and there was some symptom of a disposition in the assembly to overrule the report, so far as it is related to the condition of people of color. Comparing the date of this with the news said by the gazettes to have arrived at St. Domingo July 1st I cannot help suspending my belief of the latter.

I hope your health is better established. Your friends here anxiously enquire after it. Your letters now, therefore, are doubly interesting and very feelingly so to, dear Sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM BLOUNT.

PHILADELPHIA, August 12, 1791.

SIR,—Your letter of July 17th to General Knox having been referred to me by the President as relating to a subject merely civil, I have the pleasure to inform you of his consent to the absence you there ask from the 15th of September to the 20th of November. As it imports highly to the people within your government to conform to the articles of the treaty against hunting or settling on the Indian lands, I have no doubt you will see the necessity of duly promulgating before your departure

these and such other parts of the treaty as are immediately interesting to them.

I avail myself of this occasion of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of July 17 addressed to myself, and of expressing my anxiety to receive the ulterior information on the subject of the lands of the United States which you are so good as to promise me. Among other things it will be interesting to know whereabouts the southern boundary of North Carolina will be intersected by the north line of the Cherokees which is to go on till it meets the line crossing Houlston. Also to know what and where is Campbell's line spoken in the treaties of Hoylston and Hopwell, so that they may be delineated on the map.

I enclose you a paragraph from a newspaper on the subject of a Zackariah Coxe and others which we hope to be without foundation.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem and respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO GEORGE HAMMOND
(BRITISH MINISTER).

PHILADELPHIA, December 15, 1791.

SIR,—I am to acknowledge the honor of your letter of November 30 and to express the satisfaction with which we learn that you are instructed to discuss with us the measures which reason and practicability may dictate for giving effect to the

stipulations of our treaty yet remaining to be executed. I can assure you, on the part of the United States, of every disposition to lessen difficulties by passing over whatever is of smaller concern and insisting on those matters only which either justice to individuals or public policy renders indispensable. And in order to simplify our discussions by defining precisely their objects I have the honor to propose that we shall begin by specifying on each side the particular acts which each considers to have been done by the other in contravention of the treaty. I shall set the example.

The provisional and definitive treaties in their vii article stipulated that "his British Majesty should, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the said United States and from every port, place and harbor within the same."

But 1. The British garrisons were not withdrawn with all convenient speed, nor have they yet been withdrawn from

Michillimachinac, on Lake Michigan.

Detroit, on Lake Erie.

Niagara and Oswego, on Lake Ontario

Oswegatchie, on the river St. Lawrence.

Point au fer and Dutchman's Point, on Lake Champlain.

2. The British officers have undertaken to exer-

cise a jurisdiction over the country and inhabitants in the vicinities of the forts; and

3. They have excluded the citizens of the United States from navigating even on our side of the middle line of the rivers and lakes established as the boundary between the two nations.

By these proceedings we have been intercepted entirely from the commerce of furs with the Indians to the northward, a commerce which had ever been of great importance to the United States, not only for its intrinsic value but as it was a means of cherishing peace with those Indians and of superseding the necessity of that expensive warfare we have been obliged to carry on with them, during the time that those posts have been in other hands.

On withdrawing the troops from New York,

1. A large embarkation of negroes, of the property of the inhabitants of the United States, took place, before the commissioners, on our part, for inspecting and superintending embarkations had arrived there, and without any account ever rendered thereof.

2. Near three thousand others were publicly carried away by the avowed order of the British commanding officer, and under the view and against the remonstrance of our commissioners.

3. A very general number were carried off in private vessels, if not by express permission, yet certainly without opposition on the part of the commanding officer, who alone had the means of

preventing it, and without admitting the inspection of the American commissioners; and

4. Of other species of property carried away, the commanding officer permitted no examination at all. In support of these facts I have the honor to enclose you documents,[1] the list of which will be subjoined; and in addition to them, I beg leave to refer to a roll, signed by the joint commissioners and delivered to your commanding officer for transmission to his court, containing a description of the negroes publicly carried away by his order as before mentioned, with a copy of which you have doubtless been furnished.

A difference of opinion, too, having arisen as to the river intended by the plenipotentiaries, to be the boundary between us and the dominion of Great Britain, and by them called the St. Croix, which name, it seems, is given to two different rivers, the ascertaining of this point becomes a matter of present urgency. It has therefore been

[1] Documents referred to and enclosed:

Extract of a letter of May 12, 1783, from Sir Guy Carleton to General Washington.

Letter of May 29, 1783, from Mr. Morgan.

From Sir G. Carleton to the American Commissioners.

Remonstrance of June 9, 1783, from the American Commissioners to Sir Guy Carleton.

Letter of June 14, 1783, from the American Commissioners to General Washington.

Extract of a remonstrance of June 17, 1783, from the American Commissioners to Sir Guy Carleton.

Letter of Jan. 18, 1784, from the American Commissioners to General Washington.

the subject of applications from us to the government of Great Britain.

There are other smaller matters between the two nations which remain to be adjusted. But I think it would be better to refer these for settlement through the ordinary channels of our ministers than to embargo the present important discussions with them. They can never be obstacles to friendship and harmony.

Permit me now, Sir, to ask from you a specification of the particular acts, which, being considered by his British Majesty as a non-compliance on our part with engagements contained in the iv, v, and vi articles of the treaty, induced him to suspend the execution of the vii and render a separate discussion of them inadmissible.

And accept assurances of the high respect and esteem with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, January 10, 1792.

The Secretary of State having received information that the merchants and merchandize of the United States were subject in Copenhagen and other points in Denmark to considerable extra duties from which they might be released by the presence of a consul there,

Reports to the President of the United States:

that it would be expedient to have a consul to be a resident in the port of Copenhagen. That he has not been able to find that there is any citizen of the United States residing there. That there is a certain Hans Rudolph Saabye, a Danish subject and merchant of that place, of good character, of wealth and distinction and well qualified and disposed to act for the United States, who would probably accept the commission of consul, but that that of vice-consul hitherto given by the President to foreigners in ports where there was no proper American citizen, would probably not be accepted, because in this, as in some other ports of Europe, usage has established it as a subordinate grade.

And that he is therefore of opinion that the said Hans Rudolph Saabye should be nominated consul of the United States of America for the port of Copenhagen and such other places within the allegiance of his Danish Majesty as shall be nearer to the said port than to the residence of any other consul or vice-consul of the United States within the same allegiance.

TO PETER CHARLES L'ENFANT.

PHILADELPHIA, February 27, 1792.

SIR,—From your letter received yesterday in answer to my last and your declaration in conversation with Mr. Lear, it is understood that you abso-

lutely decline acting under the authority of the present commissioners. If this understanding of your meaning be right, I am instructed by the President to inform you that, notwithstanding the desire he has entertained to preserve your agency in the business, the condition upon which it is to be done is inadmissible and your services must be at an end. I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

TO THOMAS JOHNSON, DAVID STUART AND DANIEL CARROLL.

PHILADELPHIA, March 8, 1792.

DEAR SIRS,—I received your favor of February 29 the day after I had written a public letter to the commissioners which touched on some of the subjects of yours. I may say in this private letter what could not be so well said in a public one that there never was a moment's doubt about the parting with Major L'Enfant rather than with a single commissioner. I must correct an error in my public letter. I said there that the engraving would be done in three or four weeks; this idea had been given, but on further enquiry I find we cannot have it these two months. You formerly hinted the expectancy of bringing the navigable canal from the little falls down to Washington. The President thinks the practicability of this

should be properly examined into, as it would undoubtedly be useful.

In my public letter I sent you the outlines of a proposed loan. I now enclose you a calculation somewhat on the plan of yours. I think there is no doubt but that the lots will sell better after the employment of the money than before it. Consequently that it is better to raise money by a loan and to sell for repayment after that money shall have been employed to raise the value of what is to be sold. The mortgages on this plan are put on the best footing possible. No doubt it will be well to be making sales for repayment as fast as they may be advantageously made, even before the lapse of the eight years. We have questioned Mr. Ellicot very particularly whether the plan now in hand is exact. He says the original one mixed conjecture with fact; but that the conjectural parts are since ascertained by exact survey and that this plan is corrected from the survey and may be relied on to the utmost minuteness. We see in fact that some whole squares of lots in the original plan are occupied by the channel of the creek in the corrected one. I fear your other apprehension is better founded, to wit: that the avenues are made to converge to the ends of a building of supposed extent, that the building may very possibly be of less extent, and consequently not reach the points of view created for its use. I believe the only remedy is acquiescence for the

present and hope for the future that our building may extend with the fortunes of our government. The angular buildings at the commencement of the avenues may probably be offensive to the eye, if not well managed. I have seen this deformity obviated by terminating the house at that end with a bow window, with a semicircular portico and with other fancies. Should not rows of trees in the avenues and tracts be an object of early attention?

Major L'Enfant had no plans prepared for the Capitol or Government House. He said he had them in his head. I do not believe he will produce them for concurrence. On speaking with the President on Mr. Stewart of Baltimore's idea of facing the buildings with stone of different colors, he seemed rather to question whether from the water-table, perhaps from the ground upwards, brick facings with stone ornaments would not have a better effect, but he does not decide this. The remains of antiquity in Europe prove brick more durable than stone. The Roman brick appears in these remains to have been 22 inches long, 11 inches wide and 2 inches or 2½ inches thick. The grain is as fine as that of our best earthenware. Before I conclude I will mention that in bringing the canal from the little falls into the city it is worth while to consider whether it should not be delivered into the canal of the Tyber to ensure the due cleansing of that by its current. I am with

great and sincere esteem, dear Sirs, your friend and servant.

P. S. You seem to suppose the commissioners liable in their private fortunes on the plan of the loan you had seen. Ours is certainly clear on that. In its plan nothing could make the commissioners liable but fraud, or such gross negligence as is as impossible as fraud, and then, I presume, it could only be each for his own individual act.

Dates of instalments.	Amount of each instalment.	Aggregate sum of the interest of which is to be deducted from each payment.	Amount of the interest to be deducted from each instalment.	Sum actually received by the borrowers.	Sums of interest to be paid by sales or otherwise.
1792. May 15..	$50,000	.....	.....	$50,000	.....
Nov. 15..	50,000	$50,000	$1,500	48,500	.....
1793. May 15..	100,000	100,000	3,000	97,000	.....
Nov. 15..	100,000	200,000	6,000	94,000	.....
1794. May 15..	100,000	300,000	9,000	91,000	.....
Nov. 15..	100,000	400,000	12,000	88,000	.....
1795. May 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	$15,000
Nov. 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
1796. May 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
Nov. 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
1797. May 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
Nov. 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
1798. May 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
Nov. 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
1799. May 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
Nov. 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
1800. May 15..	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,000
	$500,000			$468,500	$165,000
	165,000				
	$665,000				

It appears from the above that the commissioners will receive $468,500, and have to pay after four considerable intervals $665,000. Now 468,000 : 665-000 :: 100 : 142, that is for every 100 dollars they receive they will have to pay in the long run 142 dollars, but we may certainly hope that the effect of the $468,000, if judiciously employed, will be to raise the value of the lots more than .42 per cent.

Suppose the interest, after 1794, is kept down by the sale of lots to raise it, 100 lots a year, at $300 each, will pay the annual interest of $30,000, say 550 lots; 1666 lots a year, at $300 each, will pay the principal $500,000. The whole loan then will absorb from beginning to end, at $300 each, 2216 lots.

TO LOUIS XVI.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, March 14, 1792.

VERY GREAT, GOOD AND DEAR FRIEND AND ALLY,— I receive as a new proof of friendship to the United States the letter wherein you inform me that you have accepted the Constitution presented to you in the name of your nation and according to which it is henceforth to be governed. On an event so important to your kingdom and so honorable to yourself accept the offering of my sincere congratulations and of the sentiments of the Senate

[1] Written by Thomas Jefferson at the order of George Washington and signed by the latter.

and Representatives of the United States expressed in their resolutions now enclosed.

We have watched with utmost friendly solicitude the movements of your nation for the advancement of their happiness; we have regarded this great spectacle with the feelings natural to those who have themselves passed through like perils, and with sincere satisfaction, we have seen this second occasion proclaim your Majesty a second time a friend and patron of the rights of mankind.

That yourself, your family and people, under the edifice which you have now completed, may repose at length in freedom, happiness and safety, shall be our constant prayer and that God may ever have you, great and dear friend and ally, in His safe and holy keeping.

Written at Philadelphia, this fourteenth day of March, 1792, and of our Independence the sixteenth. Your faithful friend and ally.

TO BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

PHILADELPHIA, April 1, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—At Mrs. Trist's desire I forward to you about a dozen beans of three different kinds, having first taken toll of them as she had done before. They are of the scarlet flowering kind. This is all I know of them. The most beautiful bean in the world is the Caracalla bean which, though in England a green-house plant, will grow in the

open air in Virginia and Carolina. I never could get one of these in my life. They are worth your enquiry.

Some friendly Indians have been killed near Fort Pitt lately, on a trading visit, by a party of Virginians. This will not only defeat the measures set on foot for peace, but spread the war order. There has been also a small fracas on our disputed territory to the eastward, by our sheriffs levying taxes on the inhabitants of Moose Island, who as to that article wished to be neutrals. A sale of 1,200,000 acres of land by Mr. R. M. in Europe and the purchase of five millions more is the report of the day. Things are going on well in France by the last authentic accounts. The English papers have since killed the Duke of Orleans. It seems to be thought that the affairs of Europe are by no means settled, and that the late pacification has only covered a fire which will burst out again immediately. Adieu. Yours affectionately.

TO THOMAS JOHNSON, DAVID STUART AND DANIEL CARROLL.

PHILADELPHIA, April 20, 1792.

GENTLEMEN,—Your favor of the 11th has been duly received, and laid before the President. He thinks it best to delay making any alteration in the plan of the city. The considerations which weigh with him are the expediency of fixing the

public opinion on the thing as stable and unalterable, the loss of the work done if altered, the closing all the avenues which point to the Capitol, removing the two Houses to a still greater distance, change in the engraving and that it will not be necessary to dig away the hill to the eastward, since, were it to be dug away, the private buildings would as effectually exclude prospect from the Capitol, except merely along the avenues. He thinks that the obstruction given by Mr. Young's house need not bring in any question for years to come.

The warrants are received and your desire shall be attended to for releasing the lots mortgaged *pari passu* with the redemption, but I do not know that that can now be effected. You have continually heard of the extraordinary crash which has taken place here, at New York and Boston, of persons dealing in paper and of good merchants and others who had dealings with the paper; well, it has produced a general stagnation of money contracts which will continue till it is known who stands and who falls, during this crisis, and Blodget thinks it prudent to suspend preparing our loan and, indeed, we think so too. This will oblige you to keep, Messrs. Johnson, Stuart and Carroll, back some of your operations; perhaps proper offers to workmen and laborers without being addressed to any place in particular might at this moment draw great numbers from New York, Boston, and this place. The procuring of workmen from Scotland

is an object of importance, and it may be doubted whether the importation of some Germans might not be a good experiment as well in economy as to have a certain dependence. They are distinguished for their industry and sobriety and might be good as an example and model to be referred to. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect, Gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS MAJESTY GEORGE III OF ENGLAND.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, June 6, 1792.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,—I have made choice of Thomas Pinckney, one of our distinguished citizens, to reside near your Majesty in the quality of Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America. He is well apprised of the friendship our Republic bears to you and of our desire to cultivate the harmony and good correspondence so happily subsisting between us. From a knowledge of his fidelity, probity and good conduct, I have entire confidence that he will render himself acceptable to your Majesty, and give effort to our desire of preserving and advancing, on all occasions, the interest and happiness of the two nations. I beseech you, therefore, to give full confidence to whatever he shall say to you on the part of the

[1] This and the following letter are copies of those enclosed to Thomas Pinckney. See Volume VIII, page 368.

United States, and most of all when he shall assure you of their friendship and wishes for your prosperity, and I pray God to have your Majesty in safe and holy keeping.

Written at Philadelphia this [sixth] day of June, 1792.

TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

PHILADELPHIA, June 6, 1792.

MADAM, OUR GOOD FRIEND,—This letter will be delivered to you by Thomas Pinckney, one of our distinguished citizens, whom I have named Minister Plenipotentiary to reside near the person of the King, your husband.

My knowledge of his good qualities gives me full confidence that he will so conduct himself as to merit your esteem, and I pray that you will yield entire confidence to the assurances he will give you of our friendship, and that God will have you always, Madam, our good friend, in His holy keeping.

Written at Philadelphia this [sixth] day of June, 1792.

(To our good friend, the Queen of Great Britain. It will be better to leave the superscription blank to be properly filled by Mr. Pinckney on the spot, if he find it necessary to deliver the letter.)

TO STEPHEN CATHALAN.

PHILADELPHIA, December 2, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—The small essay which has been commenced under your kind assistance for colonizing the olive tree to South Carolina has induced some patriotic gentlemen of that country to turn their attention further toward its importance, and to give to their efforts a more steady and permanent form. I gave it as my opinion to them that the best plan which could be pursued at a moderate expense, would be to rent, near Marseilles, an acre of ground, or say your quarterelle, which is something less than an acre, to employ by the year a laboring man who understands engrafting, to make it his business to sow olives in this ground, to engraft on them cuttings from the best kinds, and to send to Carolina in the winter of every year all the plants he could have in readiness, together with a quantity of the olive berries to be sown in Carolina in order to be engrafted on them.

If before a given day in winter, say the first of January, any ship should be sailing from Marseilles to Charleston, it should be his business to pack properly his olive berries and young plants and put them on board; if no vessel should occur before that, or any more convenient day, it should be his business to proceed himself with his olive berries and plants, through the canal of Languedoc to Bordeaux, there to remain (under the patronage

of Fenwick) till a vessel should sail from thence to Charleston, on board of which he should put his cargo and then return to Marseilles to recommence for the next year the same operation of sowing, engrafting, packing and dispatching in the same way to Charleston, the olive berries and plants which he could prepare for that year, and so to continue for a number of years. The first question occurring was to how small a sum can we reduce this expense annually, so as that it may be effected and yet not too sensible a burden on the gentlemen.

I recollect that the price of a quarterelle of the best lands close to Marseilles was one hundred louis, consequently its rent five louis a year. The hire of a laboring man six louis a year, his subsistence, considering he may have to move from Marseilles to Bordeaux, will be more than if he were always stationary, but still, if he uses the economy which a man of his condition well understands, it need not exceed fourteen louis a year, and all together twenty-five louis. Therefore, to cover all errors of calculation, accidents and contingencies, I proposed double that sum, to wit: fifty louis. The gentlemen have accordingly appropriated that sum annually.

The second question arising was whom we should engage to manage this business at Marseilles? On this there could be but one opinion, your exertions heretofore, your goodness and your relations to this country marked you as the person whom we must

engage to act there, and to their entreaties I must add mine in the most earnest degree. After you shall have put the business under way, that is to say, after you shall have engaged a proper laborer and piece of ground, I hope you will have no other trouble than to receive and pay the wages and rent, and to see the nursery now and then and that the person does his duty. Your reward will be the consciousness of doing good, our thanks, and those of a grateful posterity, nor can any objections arise from the circumstances of your own country, as that imports more oil than it exports, and consequently is interested to increase the quantity produced abroad as well as at home.

I will take it for granted, then, that you will become the father of our olive colony by superintending whatever is necessary to be done on that side the water. The plants will be received and their freight paid at their port of delivery here, which we must entreat to make, in every possible case, the port of Charleston. Great injury and loss happen in shipping and unshipping in warehouses, etc., but when a conveyance to Charleston direct cannot be had without danger of losing the season, then New York or Philadelphia are the next best ports. Baltimore is too uncertain and Norfolk still more so. I enclose you a letter from Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Esquire, of Charleston, who is chairman of the agricultural society there, which will inform you of the arrangements taken to have the

sum of money destined to this object, always under your order.

To his correspondence on the subject I must refer you for the future and to such alterations in my plan as he shall please to direct. It may not be amiss to add annually a few plants of the best figs for drying as also of the best grapes for making what we call "dried raisins," and you, I believe, "des panses;" only taking care that these be really few, so that they may in no wise abridge or interfere with the olives which are the main object. We will take care to procure the patronage of Mr. Fenwick at Bordeaux for so much of the business as must be transacted there.

I have the honor to be, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

TO GOVERNOR JOHN HANCOCK.[1]

[1793?]

Sir,—Your favor of July 20th came safely to hand together with the memorial of Monsieur de Latombe of the 7th of June and the resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts of the 24th of the same month. On considering the nature of the difficulties which have occurred in the execution of

[1] Written by Jefferson at Washington's order. At the bottom of the original letter, in the former's handwriting, is indited: *Governor Hancock, from the President of the United States.*

the Consular Convention, they appeared to be such as could not be removed but by a legislative act. When these papers were received the session of Congress was already drawn so near to a close that it was not thought expedient to propose to them the taking up at that time a subject which was new and might be found difficult. It will remain, therefore, for their consideration at their next meeting in December.

TO DAVID HUMPHREYS.

PHILADELPHIA, January 3, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—My last to you was of the 6th of November. Since that the papers have been forwarded to you by every opportunity from my office as Mr. Taylor assures me, to whom I am obliged to confide that duty.

Your last received was number 59 as acknowledged in mine. With the present you will receive newspapers for yourself, Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Short, whom we expect by this time to be at Madrid, also half a dozen plans of the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, to be displayed wherever they will be most likely to be seen by that class of people who might be attracted to it.

Congress is in session as you will see by the papers, which will give you the details of their proceedings. The western Indians have proposed to meet us in the spring, in the neighborhood of Sandusky, to

treat of peace. The result is far from being certain. The late election of President and Vice-President has given us the former unanimously, the latter by a great majority. We have now been a considerable time without hearing from Mr. Barclay, and shall always be glad to be informed by you on this subject, as he may be in a situation not to find means of conveying letters to us. We are anxious to know, too, whether the monopoly of grain mentioned in your letter threatens really to take place. Remember we hear nothing of the Minister of Portugal, who has been in great demand here lately.

The price has been consequently high and will be so again. The French West Indies become more and more dependent on us for subsistence; there is at present some glimmering of hope that the efforts of the free inhabitants will be directed with more efficiency to the reduction of the common enemy. However, we are far from certainty on that subject, referring you for details on these subjects to the papers which accompany this. I am, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your most obedient and humble servant.

TO JOHN GARLAND JEFFERSON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 14, 1793.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of March 31 came duly to hand on the 9th instant, having been induced,

for particular reasons, to continue a while longer in my office. I should have written to you but that I have been occupied with removing from the town a little way into the country. I am much pleased to see that you are so nearly through the course of reading I had proposed to you. It proves your industry, because I know that that course requires three years' industrious reading.

With respect to the Roman history, if you have read Suetonius and Tacitus, Gibbon's will be sufficient to conduct you down to the time when that empire broke to pieces and the modern states of Europe arose out of them. As I do not suppose you can get a copy of Gibbon you may leave him for the next winter when I shall have mine in Virginia. In the meanwhile study well Blair, Mason, Quintilian, and endeavor to catch the oratorical style of Bolingbroke. I should imagine that at the courts of the next fall you might venture to take your stand at the bar of such of them as you conclude to enter into, and argue some cause, judiciously selected for you by some friendly gentleman of the bar. This will present you to the view of clients and bring in something perhaps during the winter to begin on in the spring. In the meantime the winter may be employed in finishing your course of reading and studying the forms of pleading.

My expectation was to have been in Virginia in time to have provided a resource for the supply of the seventy-five dollars for the spring. Having

no means of doing it, and no friend in Richmond on whom I could rely with certainty, I am obliged to take the only measure which remains in my power, that of referring you to Colonel Bell in Charlottesville. This I know cannot be as desirable to you, because you cannot have such a choice of supplies there and because they are dearer. The latter objection, therefore, I get you over by desiring you to consider yourself free to go beyond the sum as far as the difference of prices between Richmond and Charlottesville. The former objection will remain, and as to that, I must only pray you to take the will for the deed. In or before the fall I shall certainly see you. I shall recommend to Dabney Carr to begin a course of law and reading at his mother's immediately, so that you may deliver my books to him as you finish them. I am, with great and sincere esteem, dear Sir, your affectionate kinsman.

P. S. I enclose you a letter of credit to Colonel Bell.

TO EDMOND C. GENET.

PHILADELPHIA, August 16, 1793.

SIR,—The President of the United States has received the letter which you addressed to him from New York on the 13th inst. and I am desired to observe to you that it is not the established course

for the diplomatic * * * * * residing here to have any direct correspondence with him. The Secretary of State is the organ through which their communications should pass.

The President does not conceive it to be within the line of propriety or duty for him to bear evidence against the declarations which, whether made to him or to others, is perhaps immaterial. He therefore declines interfering in the case. I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO MARIA JEFFERSON.

GERMANTOWN, November 17, 1793.

No letter yet from my dear Marie, who is so fond of writing, so punctual in her correspondence! I enjoin as a penalty that the next be written in French. Now for news. The fever is entirely vanished from Philadelphia. Not a single person has taken infection since the great rains about the first of the month, and those who had it before are either dead or recovered. All the inhabitants who had fled are returning into the city, probably will all be returned in the course of the ensuing week. The President has been into the city, but will probably remain here till the meeting of Congress to form a point of union for them before they will have had time to gather knowledge and courage. I have not yet been in, not because there is a shadow of danger,

but because I am afoot. Thomas is returned into my service. His wife and child went into town the day we left. They then had the infection of the yellow fever, were taken two or three days after and both died. Had we staid there two or three days longer they would have been taken at our house. I have heard nothing of Miss Cropper, her trunk remains at our house. Mrs. Fullarton left Philadelphia. Mr. and Mrs. Rittenhouse remained there, but have escaped the fever. Follow closely your music, reading, sewing, housekeeping, and love me as I do you. Most affectionately.

P. S. Tell Mr. Randolph that General Wayne has had a convoy of twenty-two wagons of provisions and seventy men cut off in his rear by Indians.

TO ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

PHILADELPHIA, December 12, 1793.

SIR,—Colonel Humphreys having charged Mr. Church, our consul at Lisbon, to send us information of the truce between Algiers and Portugal by an express vessel, he engaged one under Swedish colors to come here with his letters. She is now lying at New York at our expense. Thinking it material to save as much of the expense as we can by permitting her to be freighted back to Lisbon, to which place she is to return, I mentioned to the President that the officer at the head of the customs at New York would

be the most proper person to take charge of her. It is with his approbation that I enclose you the charter-party, stating the terms on which she has been engaged, with a desire that you will give the necessary orders to that officer to do with the vesssel what is best for the public interest. I have the honor to be, with great respect, your most obedient servant.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

PHILADELPHIA, January —, 1794.

SIR,—I have the honor to inform you that I have resigned the office of Secretary of State and that Mr. Randolph, late Attorney-General of the United States, is appointed by the President and approved by the Senate, as Secretary of State. You will, therefore, be pleased to consider all authority heretofore held by me over any funds in the bank belonging to the Department of State as now transferred to him. I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON.

MONTICELLO, February 23, 1795.

DEAR SIR,—You were formerly deliberating on the purpose to which you should apply the shares in the Potomac and James River companies presented to you by our Assembly and you did me the honor of asking me to think on the subject. As well as I

remember some academical institution was thought to offer the best application of the money. Should you have finally decided in favor of this, a circumstance has taken place which would render the present moment the most advantageous to carry it into execution, by giving to it in the onset such an *éclat* and such solid advantages as would ensure a very general concourse to it of the youth from all our states and probably from the other parts of America which are free enough to adopt it. The revolution which has taken place at Geneva has demolished the college of that place which was in a great measure supported by the former government. The colleges of Geneva and Edinburgh were considered as the two eyes of Europe in matters of science, insomuch that no other pretended to any rivalship with either.

Edinburgh has been the most famous in medicine during the life of Cullen, but Geneva most so in the other branches of science and much the most resorted to from the continent of Europe because the French language was that which was used. A M. D'Ivernois, a Genevan, a man of science, known as the author of a history of that republic, has proposed the transplanting that college in a body to America. He has written to me on the subject as he has also done to Mr. Adams, as he was formerly known to us both, giving us the details of his views for effecting it. Probably these have been communicated to you by Mr. Adams, as D'Ivernois desired should be done, but lest they should not have been communicated I will

take the liberty of doing it. His plan, I think, would go to about ten or twelve professorships. He names to me the following professors as likely if not certain to embrace the plan.

Monchon, the present President, who wrote the analytical table for the Encyclopaedists, and which sufficiently proves his comprehensive science. Pictet, known from his admeasurements of a degree and other works, professor of natural philosophy. His brother, said by M. D'Ivernois to be also great. Serebier, an author of commentaries on Spallarrani and of other works in natural philosophy and meteorology, also the translator of the Greek tragedies. * * * and L'Huillier, both mathematicians, and said to be inferior to nobody in that line except La Grange, who is without an equal. Prevost, highly spoken of by D'Ivernois. De Saussure and his son, formerly a professor, but who left the college to have more leisure to pursue his geological researches into the Alps by which work he is very advantageously known.

Most of these are said to speak our language well. Of these professors the names of Monchon, Pictet, de Saussure and Serebier are well known to me, as standing foremost among the literati of Europe. Secrecy having been necessary this plan had as yet been concerted only with Pictet, his brother and Prevost, who knew, however, from circumstances that the others would join them, and I think it very possible that the revolution in France may have put it in our power

to associate La Grange with them, whose modest and diffident character will probably have kept him in the rear of the revolutionist principles, which has been the ground on which the revolutionists of Geneva have discarded their professors. Most of these are men having families and, therefore, M. D'Ivernois observes they cannot come over but on sure grounds. In proposing a revenue of 15,000 dollars for the whole institution and supposing lands could be appropriated to this object, he says that one hundred Geneva families can readily be found who will purchase and settle on the lands and deposit for them the capital of which fifteen thousand would be the interest. In this revenue he means to comprehend a college of languages preparatory to the principal one of sciences and also a third college for the gratuitous teaching of the * * * reading and writing.

It could not be expected that any propositions from strangers unacquainted with our means and our wants could jump at once into a perfect accommodation with these. But those presented * * * would serve to treat on, and are capable of modification * * * leable perhaps to the views of both parties.

1. We can well dispose with his 2d and 3d colleges as not being too partial for an extensive country and the * * * sufficiently and better provided for already by our public and private grammar schools. I should conjecture that this would reduce one-third of his demand for revenue, and that 10,000 d. would

then probably answer their remaining views, which are the only important ones to us.

2. We are not to count on raising the money from lands, and consequently we must give up the proposal of the colony of Geneva farmers. But the wealth of Geneva in money being notorious and the class of moneyed men being that which the new government is trying to get rid of, it is probable that the capital sums could be borrowed on the credit of the funds under consideration sufficient to meet the first expenses of the transplantation and establishment and to supply also the deficiency of revenue till the profits of the shares shall become sufficiently superior to the annual support of the college as to repay the sums borrowed.

3. The composition of the academy cannot be settled there. It must be adapted to our circumstances, and can, therefore, only be fixed between them and persons here acquainted with those circumstances and conferring for the purpose after their arrival here. For a country so marked for agriculture as ours I should think no professorship so important as one not mentioned by them, a professor of agriculture, who, before the students should leave college, should carry them through a course of lectures on the principles and practice of agriculture, and that this professor should come from no country but England. Indeed, I should mark Young as the man to be obtained. These, however, are modifications to be left till after their arrival here.

M. D'Ivernois observes that the professors keep themselves disengaged till the ensuing spring attending an answer, as he had desired his proposition to be made to our legislature, and accordingly got a member to sound as many of his brethren on the subject as he could, desiring if he found it would be desperate that he would not commit the honor either of that body or the college of Geneva, by forcing an open act of rejection. I received his information only a fortnight ago, that the thing was evidently impracticable. I immediately forwarded this information to D'Ivernois, not giving him an idea that there was any other resource. Thinking, however, that if you should conclude to apply the revenues of the canal shares to any institution of this kind, so fortunate an outset would render * * * be obtained. I have supposed it my duty both to you and them to * * * the circumstance to your consideration.

A question would arise as to the place of the establishment; as far as I can learn, it is thought just that the State which * * * the revenue should be most considered in the uses to which it * * * appropriated. But I suppose that their expectation would be satisfied by a location within their limits and that this only * * * be so far from the federal city as moral considerations would recommend and yet near enough to it to be viewed as an appendix of that, and that the splendor of the two objects would reflect usefully on each other.

Circumstances have already consumed much of the

* * * allotted us. Should you think the proposition can be brought at all within your views, your determination, as soon as * * * important occupations will admit it, would require to be conveyed as early as possible to M. D'Ivernois, now in London. Lest my last letter should throw the parties into other engagements, I will not trespass on your time and attention by adding to this lengthy letter anything further than by assurances of the high esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear Sir, your sincere friend and humble servant.

TO AARON BURR.

PHILADELPHIA, January 7, 1797.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you some time before I left home on the subject of my friend Currie's affair, but lest that letter should not have been at hand I trouble you with this merely to inquire in what state his suit against Morris is, and I should not have done it but that you had supposed that if terminated favorably at all it would be before this time; a line of information will be acceptable.

A want of confidence in the posts prevents my saying anything on political subjects further than that it is proposed (and no doubt will be agreed) to commence a great naval power by building * * * * * 12 frigates from 28 tons * * * * vessels, say a fleet of 50 ships, the first cost ten, fifty or ninety millions of dollars. The annual expenses between five and

six millions. These alone will cost us annually one and one-half dollars * * * * besides the great cost add the army, civil list and interest of the debt and * * * the amount. I am, dear Sir, your friend and servant.

TO LOUIS, PRINCE OF PARMA.

PHILADELPHIA, May 23, 1797.

I received from your Royal Highness the letter with which you were pleased to honor me, through the channel of Mr. Pinckney, then our envoy extraordinary at the court of Spain, in which you expressed your wish to establish a correspondence with some person in the United States of America, who might be able to furnish subjects of natural history from this country in exchange for those of Europe. I have never myself undertaken to form a cabinet of natural history, nor consequently to make myself acquainted with the methods of preparing and preserving the different subjects. My occupations in public life have been and still continue inconsistent with the attentions which would have been requisite to such an undertaking. However ardently, then, I wished I could myself have been the person who should gratify the laudable desires of your Royal Highness to enrich your cabinet with American subjects, yet was sensible that the way to serve you was not to undertake what I should have executed very defectively, but to

engage some person whose habits and occupations would enable him more completely to fulfill your wishes. As to the person to whom I should address myself, there is no doubt. Mr. Charles Wilson Peale, a member of our Philosophical Society and inhabitant of this city, has for many years been engaged in forming a cabinet of natural history, is constantly occupied in collecting and preparing new subjects and does this with a skill unequalled by any other among us. To him, therefore, I ventured on behalf of your Royal Highness to propose that he should enter into correspondence with the keeper of your cabinet, furnish you with such subjects of the three kingdoms as should be called for from this region and receive from yours in exchange such as your keeper could procure or spare. Mr. Peale readily acceded to the proposition, limiting his undertaking very candidly by the following expressions in his letter.

"I have it in my power," says he, "to make an exchange of animal subjects generally, of minerals a small number, but as to vegetables I have not had time to pay much attention to them as yet. However, by the help of Mr. Bartram and some others of my acquaintance in that line, the subjects wished for may be obtained."

In addition to Mr. Peale, I would observe that Mr. Bartram he mentions is the owner and keeper of a botanical garden in the neighborhood of this city, who provides and furnishes with great skill

and at moderate prices such trees and shrubs of this country as the curious call for, and packs them so carefully as to preserve their vegetable powers through any length of voyage, within ordinary limits, and that should you wish to enrich your gardens as well as your cabinet with American subjects, you may be well served through the medium of Mr. Peale as the single correspondent who can conveniently transact with Mr. Bartram whatever calls may be made on him. To relieve your Royal Highness from all doubt and embarrassment as to the expectations of Mr. Peale with respect to compensation, I will observe that he is a private citizen having no other fortune than his cabinet and deriving the support of that as well as of his family from the profits made by showing it to the curious, that by increasing its subjects he increases the desire of seeing it and consequently his profits arising therefrom and hence will consider the subjects received in exchange delivered here clear of expense as full compensation for those he will deliver here properly packed to the Minister of Spain, or any other agent you shall appoint. This throws on your Royal Highness the expense of transportation both of the subjects received and given in exchange, but he observes that neither his profits nor circumstances enable him to meet any pecuniary expenses. You will be pleased, therefore, to decide for yourself whether the condition is more onerous than the object merits.

Should the channel which I have opened for the fulfilment of your wishes meet your approbation the person entrusted with the keeping of your cabinet may immediately commence his correspondence with Mr. Peale by sending a list of his wants in every line, which, to the extent of Mr. Peale's opportunities, will be speedily complied with. I willingly offer to your Royal Highness the continuance of my attentions to the fulfilment of your wishes whenever I can be useful to you.

Perhaps when we see how far your wants go beyond the faculties of Mr. Peale, I may be able to find some other who may make up his deficiencies. In the meantime permit me to pay my personal tribute to science and to your Royal Highness's dispositions to promote it, by depositing in your cabinet a tooth of the great animal called in Europe the mammoth, of which we find remains in the interior and uninhabited parts of this country; their great distance from us renders them rare and difficult to be obtained. This curiosity is now on its way to this place and will be put into the hands of the Minister of his Catholic Majesty for you, to be forwarded as you direct.

It is now encumbent on me to make some apology for the delay in this answer. I live far hence in the interior country and therefore was late in receiving your letter. The circumstance of distance, too, lengthened the negotiations with Mr. Peale. I then wished to accompany my answer with the

tooth before mentioned of the enormous quadruped which once inhabited this country, and with an account of a recent discovery of the remains of a carnivorous animal four or five times as large as a lion, found in the western parts of Virginia; this account will make part of a volume of our philosophical transactions now in the press, but not being yet printed and returning myself shortly from hence to my ordinary residence in Virginia, I have determined to make a subsequent mission of that and no longer to withhold acknowledgments I owe, and the homage of those sentiments of respect and attachment with which I have the honor to be your Royal Highness's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GOVERNOR JAMES MONROE.

PHILADELPHIA, April 13, 1800.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 6th came to hand last night. Mr. Erving had left town two days before. However, it will go to-morrow morning by a private hand; it will much more than satisfy him; I am persuaded he will receive it with extreme pleasure.

I either expressed myself badly in my letter, or you have understood expressions too generally. I never doubted the propriety of our adopting as a system that of pomp and fulsome attentions by our citizens to their functionaries. I am decidedly

against it, as it makes the citizen in his own eye exalting his functionary and creating a distance between the two, which does not tend to aid the morals of either. I think it a practice which we ought to destroy and must destroy and, therefore, must not adopt as a general thing even for a short time. My query was meant for the single spot of Richmond, where I understood was a great deal of federation and Marshallism, and this latter spirit I thought nothing should be spared to eradicate. I did not know whether [at] every reiteration of republicanism, demonstration might not be a service toward drawing over his less inveterate supporters.

However, I own to you the letter had hardly gone out of my hand before I convinced myself that it was more in our spirit to let things come to rights by the plain dictates of common sense than by the practice of any artifices; and that at any rate I ought not to take a part in them, as therefore I had never suggested the thought but to you at that time, as I have done it to no one since. You have seen the bills lately rejected by the Senate; they have brought in a bill leaving all the states tolerably free to model the federal as well as the state juries, but whether they will pass it is another question. It is believed the bill for electing the President and Vice-President will pass the lower House in its caucus form. I think we shall rise the first or second week in May. We have no news from Europe at all interesting. The elections of

Massachusetts will be known in a few days and that of the city of New York soon after it. I am of the opinion the republicans there have been much too sanguine as to the issue of this last. Present my salutations and esteem and respect to Mrs. Monroe and accept my assurance of my constant affection to yourself. Adieu.

TO ANDREW ELLICOTT.

WASHINGTON, December 18, 1800.

DEAR SIR,—I received a letter before I left home —your favor of Oct. 17—as I had in due time the preceding one. Attractive nature and the country employments are my apology to my friends for being a very unpunctual correspondent while at home; having no refuge here from my room and writing-table, it is here that I fetch the less easy of my correspondence. I am glad to hear you are for printing your journal. It will be a great gratification to see it. I cannot suppose the administration can have any objection to the publication of the charts, etc. My own opinion is that government should by all means in their power deal out the material of information to the public in order that it may be reflected back on themselves in the various forms into which public ingenuity may throw it.

Mr. Dunbar has been so kind as to pass through

my hand a copy of his journal made for the use of a friend of his in London. He sent it open for my perusal with a request to read and forward it.

I am happy to see that the location of the boundary has been so scientifically executed. He gives a physical account of the country which is interesting.

I think you had it in contemplation to establish an accurate meridian at this place, but whether in one of the public buildings or where else I do not recollect; was it done, or is there anything here which will procure the meridian as found and worked on by you?

The election is under dilemma; the two republican candidates are probably even, and the states in Congress which are federal are disposed to take advantage of that circumstance to prevent an election by Congress and permit the government of the Union to be suspended for want of a head. This tells us who are entitled to the appellation of anarchists with which they have so liberally branded others. Accept assurances of perfect esteem.

TO GENERAL THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

WASHINGTON, March 14, 1801.

DEAR GENERAL,—I enclose you a letter from Mr. Barnes on the subject of your affairs here. A loan at interest of 8 per cent having been proposed by

our government, I thought it better to convert a part of your bank stock into that, which was done to advantage. All the details are in the hands of Mr. Barnes, who is worthy of all confidence. This will be handed you by our friend, Mr. Dawson. I cannot hail you with confidence on the return of our fellow-citizens to the principles of '76 and to their thorough understanding of the artifices which have been played off on them and under the operation of which they were while you were here. They are sensible of the dangers into which they were suffering themselves to be meshed and see the burdens of debt which they have imposed on them. The people have come over in a body to the republican side and have left such of their leaders as were incurable to stand by themselves; so that there is every reason to hope that that love of party division which so counts here will be totally obliterated. It would give me exquisite pleasure to have you here a witness to our country and to recognize the people whom you knew during the war. For all particulars I refer you to Mr. Dawson, who, being an actor in the scene, can give you all the details.

I have not been able to learn your exact situation since you were here. Your letters are too barren of what I wish most to hear, I mean of things relating to yourself. I am in constant expectation of receiving your commission to buy the one hundred acres of land for you in my neighborhood. I am fixed here, however, for some time. Continue to preserve

my place in your esteem and accept assurances of my constant and affectionate friendship.

P. S. At this moment Mr. R——— appears and delivers me your letter of which he is the bearer.

TO JAMES MADISON.

WASHINGTON, April 30, 1801.

I hasten the return of the bearer that he may meet you at Brown's and convey you information as to the road. From Songster's I tried the road by Ravensworth, which comes into the turnpike road four and a half miles below Fairfax courthouse. There are about two miles of it which, I think, cannot be passed by your carriage without oversetting; and consulting with Colonel Wren, who knows both roads, he says there is no comparison, that you must absolutely come by Fairfax courthouse, all that road being practicable till you come to Little's lane, which you have to encounter whatever way you come. I passed it yesterday, a wagon being then stuck fast in it, nor do I suppose any four-wheeled carriage could then have got through the spot where the wagon was without stalling. But two days of wind and sun will by to-morrow make immense odds in it, so that I hope you will be able to pass it.

I met with Mr. Gaines and a Mr. Beauspoke at Brown's. They live near. I spoke of the difficulty of your getting up the Bull-Run hill. They agreed

to take each a horse and draw your carriage up. Accept their offer by all means, as however steady your horses they will be in the utmost peril of balking, and should they once begin there are other hills sufficient to make them give you a great deal of vexation. The Bull-Run hill is really the worst I ever saw on a public road. Still, let nothing tempt you to go by Centersville, as on that route the whole is cut by wagons into mud holes. From Brown's to Fairfax courthouse you have fourteen miles of very firm road, only hilly in the beginning. You had better start as soon as you can see to drive, breakfast at Colonel Wren's and come on here to dinner. We shall wait for you till 4 o'clock. My respects to Mrs. Madison, and affectionate esteem to yourself.

P. S. I before mentioned to you what I had written to Leiper on the subject of our letter. I have received no answer. The same letter said something of his disappointment of office. I suspect it has not pleased him. I own I have thought something of his silence, were it only on account of the use Callender is making of his name.

TO JOHN LANGDON.

WASHINGTON, May 23, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR,—After your refusal of the office of Secretary of the Navy, it was proposed to Captain Jones, of Philadelphia, who in like manner declined

it. General Smith then agreed to perform the duties without being appointed or receiving any reward. He has nearly completed the requisitions of the law on a surmise that Captain Jones might give a different answer on a second application. I proposed it to him again, and he again declined it. I now learn that it is thought possible that you might be induced to relieve our distress by undertaking it. I lose not a moment, therefore, in proposing it to you. The labors of reformation and of ultimately disposing of the vessels will all be over to your hand. The residence here is very pleasant, indeed a charming society and not too much of it, all living on affectionate and unceremonious terms. It is impossible to be associated with more agreeable colleagues. I hope, therefore, that you will undertake the office, and so say by return of post. The commission shall be forwarded on receiving your answer; and we shall entertain the hope of seeing Mrs. Langdon and yourself as soon after as your convenience will admit. Accept assurances of my constant esteem and high consideration.

TO JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, March 31, 1802.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 21st is duly received. Chisolm is now engaged in running up for me twenty brick pilasters to my offices, which take about four thousand bricks, and I remember it was very doubt-

ful whether we had that number. But if there be as many over it as you need, they are at your service, and I will give orders accordingly by the next post. I expect to be there myself within ten days after the rising of Congress, and to remain a fortnight. Perhaps one of your plantation visits may be so timed as to fall in with mine, say the first week in May. I have not written to you on the resolutions of the assembly respecting slaves, because it does not press, and the issue of the affairs of St. Domingo may influence the question. I would rather, too, defer it till we can have a conversation and concur in the trail to be pursued. I have received a statement from Gouverneur Morris on the case of Houdon. It gives us little insight into it. I have papers at Monticello which I think will throw some light on the subject. I suspend answering your letter, therefore, respecting this until I shall have visited Monticello.

The British convention is before the Senate. It commutes the sixth article 4,600,000 pounds sterling payable in three annual instalments. It will meet opposition there, and in the other House when an appropriation is asked. It would be very ill judged not to close, for it would revive their claim of twenty odd millions of dollars awarded by the commissioners, which they would hold as a rod forever over our heads, to operate on our seaport towns and even on Congress at will. It is now settled by our predecessors; if the bargain be hard, it is their work. That it is not more hard has been the effect of our measures. If this be

given up it can never be settled but by war. Affectionate and respectful salutations to Mrs. Monroe and yourself.

TO ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

WASHINGTON, April 14, 1802.

DEAR SIR,—I have prepared a catalogue for the Library of Congress in conformity with your ideas that books of entertainment are not within the scope of it, and that books in other languages, where there are not translations of them, are to be admitted freely. I have confined the catalogue to those branches of science which belong to the deliberations of the members as statesmen, and in these have omitted those desirable books, ancient and modern, which gentlemen generally have in their private libraries, but which cannot properly claim a place in a collection made merely for the purposes of reference.

In history I have confined the histories to the chronological works which give facts and dates with a minuteness not to be found in narrations composed for agreeable reading. Under the laws of nature and nations I have put down everything I know of worth possessing, because this is a branch of science often under the discussion of Congress, and the books written on it not to be found in private libraries. In law I set down only general treatises for the purpose of reference. The discussions under this head in

Congress are rarely so minute as to require or admit that reports and special treatises should be introduced. The Parliamentary section I have imagined should be complete. It is only by having a law of proceeding, and by every member having the means of understanding it for himself and appealing to it, that he can be protected against caprice and despotism in the chair. The two great encyclopædias form a complete supplement for the sciences omitted in the general collection, should occasion happen to arise for recurring to them. I have added a set of dictionaries in the different languages, which may be often wanting. This catalogue, combined with what you may approve in those offered by others, will enable you to form your general plan and to select from it every year to the amount of the annual fund of those most wanting. I have omitted on it those which, by the printed catalogue, I find you already possess. In estimating the amount of an annual selection, folios may be stated as costing one and a half guineas, quartos a guinea, octavos 12/–, twelvemos 4/– in England, and in France three-fourths of those prices, in neat but not splendid bindings. Accept assurances of my respect and friendly consideration.

TO THOMAS LAW.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1802.

DEAR SIR,—I received, yesterday evening, your letter of the 23d inst. informing me of the death of Mrs. Washington, and I received it with great and sincere concern. An acquaintance of five and twenty years, in times and circumstances of great and trying aspect, had made me a witness of her constant course in whatsoever was benevolent and virtuous in life, had marked her in my judgment as one of the most estimable of women, and had inspired me with an affectionate and respectful attachment to her. This lesson is more felt, too, as it renews the memory of a preceding one of a worthy, of that degree which Providence with its divine dispensations sees fit rarely to bestow on us, whose services in the cause of man had justly endeared him to the world and whose name still is among the latest monuments of the age wherein he lived, which time will extinguish.

My own sense of these losses enables me to sympathize sincerely in the afflictions of the family, to whom I pray you to tender assurances, and to accept them yourself, of my highest esteem and respect.

TO WILLIAM DUNBAR.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1803.

SIR,—Your favor of the 8th of January has been received and I have to return you thanks for the two vocabularies. The memoir of Mr. Durald has been forwarded to the Philosophical Society. We shall be happy to see your history of the Mississippi completed, as it is becoming one of the most interesting parts of our country. The only one where some of the tropical productions can be mantained (?) among us. * * * * had only a little mistaken the information I gave him * * * * was not that you were removing altogether, but that you meant shortly to take a trip to Europe which I had understood from some other person * * * * yourself.

The late interruption of our commerce at New Orleans by the Spanish Intendant, combined with the change of proprietors which Louisiana certainly, and the Floridas possibly, are immediately to undergo have produced a great sensation here; while some have wished to make it the immediate cause of war which might damage our finances and embarrass the administration of our government, which, in the state of their political passions, would be a countervail for the most serious public extremities, we have pursued what we believe a more certain and more speedy means of restoring permanently the rights and conveniences of our

commerce, whether we may succeed in the acquisition of the island of New Orleans and the Floridas peaceably for a price far short of the expense of a war, we cannot say. But that we shall obtain peaceably an immediate and firm re-establishment of all our rights under the Spanish treaty every circumstance known to us leads us to believe. If contrary to expectations war should be necessary to restore our rights, it is surely prudent to take a little time for availing ourselves of the division of Europe to strengthen ourselves for that war. Nothing but the failure of every peaceable mode of redress, nothing but dire necessity, should force us from the path of peace which would be our wisest pursuit, to embark in the broils and contentions of Europe and become a satellite to any power there. Yet this must be the consequence if we fail in all possible means of re-establishing our rights were we to enter into the war alone. The Mississippi would be blockaded at least during the continuance of that war by a superior naval power, and all our Western States be deprived of their commerce unless they would surrender themselves to the blockading power.

Great endeavors have been used from this quarter to inflame the western people to take possession of New Orleans without looking forward to the use they could make of it with a blockaded river, but I trust they will be unable, that a peaceable redress will be quickest and most for their interests.

We shall endeavor to procure the Indian right of soil, as soon as they can be prevailed on to part with it, the whole left bank of the Mississippi to a respectable breadth, and encourage a prompt settlement, and thereby plant on the Mississippi itself the means of its own defense and present as strong a frontier as that on our Eastern border. I pray you to accept assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO DR. BENJAMIN RUSH.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1803.

DEAR SIR,—Your friendly letter of March 12 was received in due time and with a due sense of its value. I shall with confidence avail myself of its general prescriptions and of the special should the state of my health alter for the worse. At present it wears a promising aspect.

At length I send you a letter long due and even now but a sketch of what I wished to make it. But your candor will find my just excuse in the indispensable occupations of my public duties. I communicate a copy of the syllabus to Dr. Priestley in hope he will extend his work of Socrates and Jesus compared. He views a part of the subject differently from myself, but in the main object of my syllabus we go perfectly together. Accept my affectionate salutations and assurances of great respect.

TO HENRY DEARBORN.

MONTICELLO, August 23, 1803.

DEAR SIR,—I enclose you a letter from Mr. Simpson to Mr. Madison showing very clearly that our plan of having the gun carriages for the Emperor of Morocco made in Europe cannot take place. To cut short still further delay on this subject I think we must furnish them from home. You observe they must be of the very best and fitted for land service. If we have such really good, though wanting for our own service, it will be better to send them and immediately replace them here by new ones. Otherwise they should be made and sent without delay. I think it had been agreed that you would see to the execution of the business.

There is reason to apprehend that the government of France, perhaps not well satisfied with its bargain with us, will seize any pretext which can be laid hold of to annul the treaty. They have exacted from our minister a rigorous regard for dates which will render it necessary for both Houses of Congress to perform their respective parts without a day's delay, and with as little debate as possible, and that we have a public armed ship ready to sail on the 31st day of October to carry the ratification and if possible the stock to France. Perhaps the last of your small vessels which shall go to the Mediterranean this season

may perform this office. But whether this or any other will be best you will be so good as to consider and have in readiness. It is best that as little as possible be said as to the constitutional difficulty and that on that Congress * * * * is necessary without any explanation. An investigation of the subject here among my books satisfies me that our right to the river Perdido is solid, and to the bay of St. Bernard very susceptible of being * * * * Livingston and Morse express a clear opinion as to the Perdido and advise us to act on it. Accept my affectionate salutations and assurances of great esteem and regard.

P. S. When you shall have read Simpson's letter be so good as to return it to me with your conclusion as to the carriages.

TO THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1803.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,—I learn with great concern the acts of violence which took place between some vessels of your Majesty and of the United States, and with equal pleasure that you had promptly interposed and arrested the progress of the misunderstanding. This proof of your disposition to remain in friendship with the United States is duly estimated on my part and will be reciprocated on all occasions by corresponding

endeavors to preserve the peace and good understanding so happily subsisting between us.

Separated by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe, and under circumstances peculiar to ourselves, our practices and principles of intercourse are not always the same with theirs. All religions are equally independent here, our laws knowing no distinction of country, of classes among individuals and with nations, our * * * * is justice and reciprocity. In these principles of justice and reciprocity was founded the treaty of peace and friendship concluded with your Imperial father and recently recognized by your Majesty. In this recognition I willingly concur, promising that the stipulations of that treaty shall be faithfully observed on our part. We shall, moreover, avail ourselves of every occasion of performing good offices to your people and of manifesting the cordial friendship and respect we bear to the person and character of your Imperial Majesty and I pray God to have you, great and good friend, in His safe and holy keeping.

Done at Washington in the United States of America, etc.

TO JOHN LANGDON.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR,—The enclosed commission was made out immediately on the receipt of your recommendation as its date will show; but as I wished

to accompany it with a line to you, it has lain by me ever since waiting a moment of leisure to drop you one. In the meantime the law is repealed: but this commission will still do for existing cases.

I have the happiness to assure you that we shall receive Louisiana without opposition, or rather that we have received it, as we know that our troops embarked for Natchez the 1st and 2d instant, and would arrive at New Orleans on the 7th, where possession would be instantly delivered, according to arrangements agreed to between General Wilkinson and the French prefect. This matter quietly finished, and peace made with the Emperor of Morocco dictated by ourselves, leaves nothing in our horizon but the little speck of Tripoli, where the substitution of Preble for Morris will probably soon enforce peace also. From both the contending powers of Europe we have equal proofs of friendship, but most especially Great Britain; we shall, therefore, I hope, be able to mantain an impartial and honorable neutrality. At home we learn from all quarters that these measures have brought over to us nearly the whole of our candid opponents, except in three of the New England States, and in Delaware; these we trust will in time be convinced also. This, my friend, is a rapid view of our affairs, and is as much as incessant interruption and business will permit me to put on paper. Accept my affectionate salutations and assurances of constant esteem.

TO GOVERNOR JOHN PAGE.

WASHINGTON, December 23, 1803.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of November 16, received November 26, is now before me, and I enclose you a letter of Mr. Gore which I presume we may consider as the final result of our endeavor to procure an asylum in the colony of Sierra Leone for such persons of the description composing that colony as we might find it expedient to send there.

Since the date of the resolution, which has been the subject of this correspondence, the aspect of affairs has undergone important changes. You can judge of the probability of their settling down in a form which may furnish that opening which the resolution desired. As yet, however, direct propositions for that purpose would be permature.

The acquisition of Louisiana may also procure the opportunity desired. This will depend on the manner in which the Legislature of the Union will dispose of that country. An expectation of some decision as to this had induced me to delay answering your letter earlier; but no progress being yet made in it, and a fear that the Legislature of Virginia might rise before definite arrangements are taken here, I do not venture on a further delay.

On the whole it appears probable that St. Dominique or Louisiana may open to the Legislature of Virginia the resource which their resolution contemplated. Accept my affectionate salutations and assurances of great consideration and respect.

TO THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

WASHINGTON, March 27, 1804.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,—I have received your letter of the 14th of October last and in it assurances of the continuance of your friendly dispositions toward the United States and of your attachment to the treaty which binds us together. These assurances are the more satisfactory as we also are disposed to a faithful observance of our treaty, which, settling, as between friends, a fixed measure of what the one is bound to yield and the other has a right to receive, prevents requisitions out of the provisions of the treaty which sometimes it is inconvenient and sometimes impracticable to comply with.

Of the latter kind is your request of brass field-pieces from us. The materials of which that metal are compounded do not exist in this country, as far as has been yet discovered. When we have occasion for anything of brass, we seek it in the countries of your neighborhood. We have, however, a mine of iron, the only one perhaps which is known, of such quality as to admit of field-pieces to be cast as light and as strong as brass, more durable, and less costly. This we use for field-pieces, and knowing from our own experience its superior nature I shall immediately order and send to you those you request, instead of other articles of the annual supplies stipulated in our treaty. I am persuaded

that in so doing I shall execute your intentions to your greater satisfaction. Adhering substantially to our mutual stipulations, I shall, nevertheless, take a pleasure in any occasional modification of that which may suit your convenience and prove our friendship to you.

I have just learned with great regret the loss of the ship ——— off Cadiz, laden by us with naval stores for you. I regret it, not so much for the value to us as the delay which our great distance from you will necessarily occasion in supplying the loss. Orders, however, are already given to forward others without loss of time.

I pray God, great and good friend, to have you in His holy keeping.

TO F. H. ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1804.

SIR,—I received last night your favor of the 24th, and offer you my congratulations on your arrival here in good health, after a tour in the course of which you have been exposed to so many hardships and hazards. The countries you have visited are of those least known and most interesting, and a lively desire will be felt generally to receive the information you will be able to give. No one will feel it more strongly than myself, because no one, perhaps, views this new world with more partial hopes of its exhibiting an ameliorated

state of the human condition. In the new position in which the seat of our government is fixed, we have nothing curious to attract the observations of a traveller, and can only substitute in its place the welcome with which we should receive your visit, should you find it convenient to add so much to your journey.

Accept, I pray you, my respectful salutations and assurances of great respect and consideration.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR
(HENRY DEARBORN).

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1804.

The division of Louisiana into districts relating to the military as much as to the civil administration, will you be so good as to consider those proposed by Governor Harrison, and we will then consider the subject. My idea would be not to fix precisely the dividing line between the districts, as we have not information enough for that, but to use such a mode of designation for these as we do for the consular districts in foreign countries where we are equally uninformed. I would say, for example, "the post of St. Louis shall be the seat of administration for its district, which district shall be composed of all those parts of Louisiana, south of the Missouri, which are nearer to St. Louis than to any other district seat." This lays off the whole country at once on the principle of distance, which

is the chief ingredient in convenience, modified by the division of a river where that is material.

I think the purchases of the Delawares and Piankishaws, proposed by Governor Harrison, very interesting and that the Delawares might at once be informed that we will purchase, with an annuity to be paid to them whenever they shall settle; but before we can offer lands on the other side the Mississippi to any tribe, we should be well informed of the title to lands there. Should it not be well to charge Governors Harrison and Claiborne generally with this inquiry, and the commander of each station specially, as far as his opportunity extends, and that this be done and reported to us without delay? Affectionate salutations.

TO ALEXANDER, EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

WASHINGTON, June 15, 1804.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,—Your friendly interposition for the relief of the crew of an American frigate stranded on the coast of Tripoli has been recently made known to me. For this act of benevolence and proof of your disposition to befriend our young Republic its Secretary of State conveys the official expression of its sensibility. But I should illy satisfy my own feelings did I not add my individual acknowledgments for a favor directly tending to facilitate the administration of affairs of my country with which I am personally charged.

To the barbarians whose habitual violations of the laws of nature have produced the occasion of this friendly office, we have sent expressions of very different feelings by the squadron which has just left our ports destined for theirs. Should the Commodore find that in consequence of your Imperial Majesty's interposition, they shall already have done us voluntary justice, he will let them owe to your favor his abstinence from every act of force. Otherwise he will endeavor, by the means he is furnished with, to convince them it will be their interest to injure us no more.

I see with great pleasure the rising commerce between our two countries. We have not gone into the policy which the European nations have so long tried and to so little effect of multiplying commercial treaties. In national as in individual dealings, more liberality will, perhaps, be found in voluntary regulations than in those which are measured out by the strict letter of a treaty, which, whenever it becomes onerous, is made by forced construction to mean anything or nothing, engenders disputes and brings on war. But your flag will find in our harbors hospitality, freedom and protection and your subjects enjoy all the privileges of the most favored nation. The favorable reception of our consul at St. Petersburg, and the friendly sentiments conveyed through your minister of foreign affairs, is an earnest that our merchants also will meet due favor in your ports.

I avail myself of this occasion of expressing the exalted pleasure I have felt in observing the various acts of your administration during the short time you have yet been on the throne of your country, and seeing in them manifestations of the virtue and wisdom from which they flow. What has not your country to hope from a career which has begun from such auspicious developments! Sound principles, pursued with a steady step, dealing out good progressively as your people are prepared to receive and to hold it fast, cannot fail to carry them and yourself far in the improvement of their condition during the course of your life.

I pray to God that it may long continue for their happiness and your glory, and that too He may always have you in His safe and holy keeping.

TO THE BROTHERS OF THE CHOCTAW NATION.

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1805.

MY CHILDREN,—I learn with great satisfaction that you have leased to us three stations of one mile square each on the road from Chickesaws to Natchez, and one on the Pearl river; and you desire me to send you a paper under my own hand to show to your warriors that these lands are not sold but lent. I now accordingly declare that the property in those lands remains in your nation, that they are lent to us for a rent of four hundred

pounds weight of powder annually, and that your nation has a right to take them back at their pleasure; and this paper now signed by my own hand will be evidence of these things to future generations. We will, according to your desire, settle but one white family on each section, and take care that they conduct themselves peaceably and friendly toward you; or being made known to me that they do otherwise they shall be removed. They will be placed there merely for the accommodation of our paper carriers and travellers.

My children, you have asked whether I did not promise to send you ploughs to enable you to improve in husbandry? I did promise it and immediately sent the ploughs; but by a mistake in forwarding them, they were delayed some time before we knew of it. You must, however, have received them before this time.

You ask if I did not promise to send your deputation ten rifles for yourselves and other deserving warriors? I did not promise it. You said they would be acceptable, but I said nothing in reply. But although I did not promise, yet to show my good will to you, I will send you the rifles.

You ask if we will allow commissions to you according to your rank and medals and commissions to such chiefs as you may appoint to assist in the government of your country? It has not been a custom with us to give commissions to our friends among the red men; and it is a new thing.

We will take it into consideration. We wish to do what is agreeable to you, if we find we can do it with prudence.

We shall be willing to give medals to a certain number of distinguished chiefs who aid you in the government of your country, and who manifest dispositions to preserve peace and friendship between your nation and ours. We wish you, therefore, to recommend such to us.

My children, persevere in your friendship to the United States. We will never injure you nor permit you to be injured by any white people, and we trust you will take care that none of our people are injured by yours. Encourage among you the cultivation of the earth, raising of cattle, spinning and weaving, and we will assist you in it. With plenty of food and clothing you will raise many children, multiply, be strong and happy. May the Great Spirit protect and prosper you in all your just pursuits. Farewell.

TO THE CHIEFS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.[1]

WASHINGTON, January 10, 1806.

MY FRIENDS AND CHILDREN, CHIEFLY OF THE CHEROKEE NATION,—Having now finished our business and finished it I hope to mutual satisfaction, I cannot take leave of you without expressing the

[1] This letter is one of the finest examples of Jefferson's written communications to the Aborigines,

satisfaction I have received from your visit. I see with my own eyes that the endeavors we have been making to encourage and lead you in the way of improving your situation have not been unsuccessful; it has been like grain sown in good ground, producing abundantly. You are becoming farmers, learning the use of the plough and the hoe, enclosing your grounds and employing that labor in their cultivation which you formerly employed in hunting and in war; and I see handsome specimens of cotton cloth raised, spun and wove by yourselves. You are also raising cattle and hogs for your food, and horses to assist your labors. Go on, my children, in the same way and be assured the further you advance in it the happier and more respectable you will be.

Our brethren, whom you have happened to meet here from the West and Northwest, have enabled you to compare your situation now with what it was formerly. They also make the comparison, and they see how far you are ahead of them, and seeing what you are they are encouraged to do as you have done. You will find your next want to be mills to grind your corn, which by relieving your women from the loss of time in beating it into meal, will enable them to spin and weave more. When a man has enclosed and improved his farm, builds a good house on it and raised plentiful stocks of animals, he will wish when he dies that these things shall go to his wife

and children, whom he loves more than he does his other relations, and for whom he will work with pleasure during his life. You will, therefore, find it necessary to establish laws for this. When a man has property, earned by his own labor, he will not like to see another come and take it from him because he happens to be stronger, or else to defend it by spilling blood. You will find it necessary then to appoint good men, as judges, to decide contests between man and man, according to reason and to the rules you shall establish. If you wish to be aided by our counsel and experience in these things we shall always be ready to assist you with our advice.

My children, it is unnecessary for me to advise you against spending all your time and labor in warring with and destroying your fellow-men, and wasting your own members. You already see the folly and iniquity of it. Your young men, however, are not yet sufficiently sensible of it. Some of them cross the Mississippi to go and destroy people who have never done them an injury. My children, this is wrong and must not be; if we permit them to cross the Mississippi to war with the Indians on the other side of that river, we must let those Indians cross the river to take revenge on you. I say again, this must not be. The Mississippi now belongs to us. It must not be a river of blood. It is now the water-path along which all our people of Natchez, St. Louis,

Indiana, Ohio, Tennessee, Kentucky and the western parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia are constantly passing with their property, to and from New Orleans. Young men going to war are not easily restrained. Finding our people on the river they will rob them, perhaps kill them. This would bring on a war between us and you. It is better to stop this in time by forbidding your young men to go across the river to make war. If they go to visit or to live with the Cherokees on the other side of the river we shall not object to that. That country is ours. We will permit them to live in it.

My children, this is what I wished to say to you. To go on in learning to cultivate the earth and to avoid war. If any of your neighbors injure you, our beloved men whom we place with you will endeavor to obtain justice for you and we will support them in it. If any of your bad people injure your neighbors, be ready to acknowledge it and to do them justice. It is more honorable to repair a wrong than to persist in it. Tell all your chiefs, your men, women and children, that I take them by the hand and hold it fast. That I am their father, wish their happiness and well-being, and am always ready to promote their good.

My children, I thank you for your visit and pray to the Great Spirit who made us all and planted us all in this land to live together like brothers that He will conduct you safely to your homes, and grant you to find your families and your friends in good health.

TO WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

WASHINGTON, January 16, 1806.

DEAR SIR,—Your several unanswered letters of June 18, August 29, November 12 and 20, prove me an unpunctual correspondent. It is not because I do less than I might do, but that I have more than I can do. I will now summarily reply to their several articles. And first I pray you to deliver to the legislature the inclosed letter in answer to the address they favored me with. Of the two persons chosen to supply the place of Mr. Hay in the legislative council I nominated Mr. Bond, which nomination has been, with others, three weeks before the Senate. So has that of Judge Griffin, for the Michigan territory. I am told it is doubtful whether the Senate will confirm the last. I have earnestly inculcated the necessity of raising the salaries of the territorial governors and judges and it will be attempted this session, but with what success is very doubtful.

The British have clearly no right to trade with the Indians in Louisiana. It is therefore decided to keep that trade to ourselves as the only means of governing those Indians peaceably. This will render it important to be particularly friendly to the Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos, Sioux, and other Indians residing on the border between the British and us and by taking their pelts and furs at higher prices and selling them goods at lower prices than the trade will bear without loss, to let them see their own interest in an exclusive adhesion to us.

What we lose with them we must make up from other quarters, our principle being neither to gain nor lose on the whole Indian trade together.

The late stroke of Pottawottomies on the Osages must be strongly reprimanded and no exertion spared to recover and restore the prisoners and make satisfaction for the killed. The Indians on this side the Mississippi must understand that that river is now ours and it is not to be a river of blood. If we permit them on this side to cross it to war against the other side we must permit the other side to come over to this for revenge. The safety of our settlements will not admit of this and in the present case of Pottawottomies they should be made to understand that unless they make to the Osages every satisfaction in their power and satisfy us they will cease crossing the Mississippi to war on nations which never injured them, we may give a free passage and support to the Osages to come over and take such revenge as will glut them. But it is from the Secretary of War that you will receive what is to be considered as official, and as your guide in this business. Among the Mississippi Indians now here is one Pottawottomi chief. Nothing has yet been said to him on this subject, but some explanations will take place before he leaves us, which probably will not be till late in February.

Accept my friendly salutations and assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR G. C. JENNER.

MONTICELLO, May 14, 1806.

SIR,—I have received a copy of the evidence at large respecting the discovery of the vaccine inoculation which you have been pleased to send me, and for which I return you my thanks. Having been among the early converts, in this part of the globe, to its efficiency, I took an early part in recommending it to my countrymen. I avail myself of this occasion of rendering you a portion of the tribute of gratitude due to you from the whole human family. Medicine has never before produced any single improvement of such utility. Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood was a beautiful addition to our knowledge of the animal economy, but on a review of the practice of medicine before and since that epoch, I do not see any great amelioration which has been derived from that discovery. You have erased from the calendar of human afflictions one of its greatest. Yours is the comfortable reflection that mankind can never forget that you have lived. Future nations will know by history only that the loathsome small-pox has existed and by you has been extirpated.

Accept my fervent wishes for your health and happiness and assurances of the greatest respect and consideration.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1806.

Judging by Price's survey of Ocracock, the only position for the custom house which seems to come into competition with the point B, recommended by Mr. Taylor, is that part of Beacon Island opposite to the point marked *a*. But, perhaps Wallace's channel may be the most used. The form you propose, No. 1, would include Beacon Island, and on that account would be preferable, as it would give us greater latitude hereafter should future representations prove *a* to be a more convenient point than B. I should prefer the mode of designation used in your form No. 2, only varying it so as to comprehend Beacon Island in some such way as the following:

"So much of Ocracock Inlet and of the shores adjacent as is contained between Shellcastle and Beacon Islands and Portsmouth point, including the whole of the said point which lies in the district of Ocracock and also the whole of the said islands and of the grounds adjacent to Shellcastle Island, whereon a beacon or lighthouse is erected, as is the property of the United States."

But this is barely suggested and left to yourself. Affectionate salutations.

TO PIERRE AUGUSTE ADET.

WASHINGTON, June 29, 1806.

SIR,—Your two letters of March 3 and 6 have been duly received, and with them the copy of your elementary lessons in chemistry for which I pray you to accept my thanks. My occupation not permitting me to read anything but the papers of the day, I reserve it among the treasures to be carried into that retirement to which I shall withdraw at the close of my present period. I hope that in the meantime nothing will happen to lessen that prosperity which results from our external peace and internal tranquillity. The great body of our citizens being engaged in the pursuit of agriculture in sparse settlement ensure to us the continuance of order and good government. Our sea-port towns indeed have the vices inseparable from crowded habitations of men. But they are but specks on the vast surface of our country, affecting very little the general character of the nation.

Dr. Deveze, who is the subject of your letter of March 3, had I believe great merit in the services he rendered in Philadelphia on the first visitation of yellow fever in '93. The courage with which he exposed himself to it, when its novelty frightened away the physicians and inhabitants of the place, marked a mind of superior benevolence. He was among the earliest, too, in noting the fact

that it is not infectious. Experience has since well established that opinion. Not but that there are still responsible physicians who maintain the contrary, supporting themselves by so extending the definition of yellow fever, as to comprehend fevers having strong features of distinction. Still it is unquestionable that that fever which has afflicted our cities since 1793 and is particularly distinguished by the name yellow fever, has never been communicated by going into the particular part of a town where it prevails, and within whose atmosphere only it can be taken. And further, it is certain that this particular fever which seizes natives as well as foreigners, has never extended further south in the United States than Alexandria. The fevers of Norfolk, Charleston and New Orleans, which have been gratuitously called yellow fever, have seized new comers only, not natives or long residents, and are truly classed with autumnal fevers.

With respect to Dr. Deveze's request of some acknowledgment for his services, your knowledge of our Constitution enables you to see that the General Government is restrained to the exercise of those powers only which are enumerated in the Constitution. That all others are reserved to the State governments and consequently the remuneration of discoveries or improvements in the arts and sciences, and services rendered to the public health, his application can of course

be received by the government of Pennsylvania only, to which State the service was rendered. The General Government cautiously refrains from intermeddling with the concerns of the separate States.

I hope Dr. Deveze will see in these considerations the obstacles which forbid the interference of our National Government in these cases, while in my personal sentiments and esteem I render him the justice he merits.

I pray you to accept, yourself, my salutations and assurances of great respect and esteem.

TO ANDREW JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1806.

SIR,—I have duly received your letter, proffering the services of a very respectable corps of volunteers, should the injuries offered our country render it necessary. Always a friend to peace and believing it to promote eminently the happiness and prosperity of mankind, I am ever unwilling that it should be disturbed as long as the rights and interests of the nations can be preserved. But whensoever hostile aggressions on these require a resort to war, we must meet our duty and convince the world that we are just friends and brave enemies. Whether our difficulties with Spain will issue in peace or war is still uncertain, and what provisional measures shall be taken for the latter alternative, is now

under consideration of the legislature. The offer of service which your patriotism has now made to your country is a pledge that it will not be withheld in whatever the national councils may authorize.

Accept my thanks on the public behalf for the readiness with which you have made this honorable tender, with respectful salutations and assurances of great consideration and esteem.

TO JOHN LANGDON.

WASHINGTON, December 22, 1806.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 12th is this moment put into my hands, and as it reminds me of my default in not answering the former, I take up my pen to answer instanter.

Our prospects are great if we can preserve external and internal peace. With England I firmly expect a friendly arrangement. With Spain we shall possibly have blows; but they will hasten, instead of preventing, a peaceable settlement. The most instant pressure is now from among ourselves, our Catiline is at the head of an armed body (we know not its strength), and his object is to seize New Orleans, from thence attack Mexico, place himself on the throne of Montezuma, add Louisiana to his empire, and the Western States from the Alleghany if he can. I do not believe he will attain the crown; but neither am I certain

the halter will get its due. A few days will let us see whether the Western States suppress themselves this insurrectionary enterprise, or we shall be obliged to make a great national armament for it. In the end, I am satisfied it will exhibit to the world another proof that the people of the United States are qualified for self-government. Our friends, the federalists, chuckle at all this; but in justice I must add, we have found some faithful among those in the West.

Our session is proceeding with harmony. They have great questions before them; such in my opinion as look more to the tranquil happiness and prosperity of a nation than ever before presented to a deliberative body. God bless you and have you always in His holy keeping.

TO HENRY LEE.

WASHINGTON, February 1, 1807.

SIR,—Your letter of January 17 came to hand last night If I ever saw or heard of a Mr. Norris of Baltimore, I do not remember either his name or person. I never saw or heard of any list of names of the adherents of Burr; still less of one containing your name. I never have seen or heard your name coupled with Burr's but in a newspaper paragraph, mentioning that you were gone from Staunton to join him. Which, as it went through several papers, you have probably seen yourself,

and certainly I never named you to any one as having any connection with Burr, much less gave any one liberty to announce it for me. Accept my salutations.

P. S. I return Mr. Harrison's letter.

TO ANDREW JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, March 21, 1807.

SIR,—In my letter of December 3, answering yours which offered the service of a corps of volunteers, I informed you that the legislature had then under consideration in what way they should authorize the Executive to accept those patriotic tenders. They accordingly passed the act of which I now enclose you a copy.

Although the present state of things on the western side of the Mississippi does not threaten any immediate collision with our neighbors in that quarter, and it is our wish they should remain undisturbed until an amiable adjustment may take place, yet as this does not depend on ourselves alone, it is prudent to be prepared to meet any movements which may occur. The laws of a former session of Congress for keeping a body of 100,000 militia in readiness for service at a moment's warning, are still in force. But by the act now included the service of volunteers may be accepted which will, of course, render a resort to the former act unnecessary.

In consequence, therefore, of the patriotic zeal which prompted your former offer, I now solicit your best endeavors toward carrying this act into execution. The persons who shall engage will not be called from their homes until some aggression committed or intended shall render it necessary. When called into action, it will not be for a lounging but for an active and, perhaps, distant service. I know the effect of this consideration in kindling that ardor which prevails for the service, and I count on it for filling up the numbers requisite without delay. To yourself, I am sure, it must be as desirable as it is to me, to transfer this service from the great mass of the militia under your charge, to that portion of them to whose habits and enterprise active and distant service is most congenial.

With respect to the organization and officering those who shall be engaged within your State, the act itself will be your guide. And it is desirable we should be kept informed of the progress of the business. I must pray you to report the same, from time to time, to the Secretary of War, who will correspond with you on all the details arising out of it.

Accept my salutations and assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO JOEL BARLOW.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—I return you Dr. Triplett's letter to Mr. O'Brien with thanks for the communication. Coxe remains at Tunis only till we can find some one of prudence and good sense equal to the station, of honesty sufficient to be trusted with the expenditure of moneys without account and willing to be located there. Do you know such a man? I do not. Davis was an unfortunate appointment. I knew it before he went away, but after it was too much fixed to alter. If he carries into execution the intention he expresses of visiting London and Paris, it will furnish us a ground for correcting our error.

Before this reaches you, you will probably have heard of the arrival of Wilkinson at Norfolk on the 10th with ten important witnesses.

When are we to see you here? I hope when we do it will be as a resident. Will not Mrs. Barlow and yourself meet your friends here on the birthday of our Constitution? Shall we not have from our first poet a national ode for that and all other festive days, to be to us what the Marseilles Hymn was to the French, God Save Great George to the English, and adapted to the exalted and already adopted tune of the miserable ditty, "Hail Columbia"?

Should Mrs. Barlow and yourself come on, I would propose to you for August and September

a tour through the upper country of Virginia, which you will find a very healthy and a very fine one, tacking about at Monticello, where we shall be happy to detain you as long as your time will permit. It is only one hundred and twenty miles from this, and good roads. I salute you with affection and respect.

TO GEORGE HAY.

WASHINGTON, October 11, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—As I understand by the newspapers that the examination of the witnesses in Burr's case and that of the other persons accused is closed, I must solicit as early a communication as possible of the proceedings and evidence. Congress being so near meeting, and a copy being to be made out, so that each House may have one, it is evident we shall have no time to spare. If your copy for us is not wholly ready, perhaps you could send it by piecemeal as it is ready, which would enable us to be forwarding it in the same way. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO F. A. DELACROIX.

WASHINGTON, December 21, 1807.

SIR,—Your letter on the subject of military service was received on the 2d instant. Our foreign relations are certainly in a very unsettled

state, but whether they will terminate in war cannot yet be foreseen. The decision of that question being given by our Constitution to the legislature, it would be premature in the Executive to accept offers of military service before the competent authority has decided on their employment. The readiness of your offer, however, still merits the acknowledgments which I now make for them, and when the proper moment shall arrive, it will be my duty to avail my country of the best talents which can be procured for its service. I return you the paper which was enclosed in your letter.

Your favor of September 29 was not received until two days ago. I have with pleasure sent to Mr. Mackay my subscription to the book you recommend. No period in human history merits more to have all its truths produced than that of the French Revolution. I am only sorry that the new lights which your materials are to throw upon it are to be passed through the medium of translation only. The best translation can render a sentiment but imperfectly, often falsely. A vast deal of human misery has already flowed from this revolution, accompanied by some good, but what will be its permanent effect on the happiness of mankind those who come after us will decide. I salute you with great respect.

TO GEORGE HAY.

WASHINGTON, February 16, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—I think it was Mr. Wythe's practice to assign in the body of his decrees the reasons on which they were founded. If this was done in the case of Henderson and Peyton, you will oblige me by obtaining a copy of the decree (to be charged by the clerk to Mr. Peyton) and enclosing it to me. Some property is offered of the value of which I can better judge when I see the reasons of the decree, and can estimate the probability of affirmance or reversal.

Burr, who gave you so much trouble, has become absolutely invisible. There are conjectures of his being in Philadelphia, but nobody can say they have seen him.

Ohio seems a second time to have done her duty to her sister States. Mr. Giles has brought forward a bill to amend our criminal law, but, however necessary, I have no idea that a bill containing a variety of modifications of the law can ever get through a House where there are a hundred lawyers. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TO G. HYDE DE NEUVILLE.

WASHINGTON, February 17, 1808.

SIR,—On the 13th instant I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of December 22, covering one from Madame d'Houdetot, of whom I had not received information for several years. I am happy to learn that she is living and enjoying a retirement in comfort. The proofs of friendship I received from her in France were such as to make a lasting impression on my mind and to inspire me with sincere concern for her welfare. Besides the constant wish to render services to strangers of merit, the interest she feels in your situation is an additional title to my readiness to be useful to you. In answer to your enquiries whether you can acquire and hold lands in the United States without becoming a citizen, I have to observe that as far as I have learnt, it is a general policy with the several States not to permit this. I have made the most extensive enquiry I could on this occasion, whether any one of these States has varied from this policy, but I cannot find any one has or that there is any part of the Union where a person not being a citizen can hold lands, except in this District of Columbia. I am inclined also to believe that this cannot be done through the medium of any other person as a trustee, because I suppose the trust would be escheat to the public as the lands themselves would. But of this the

lawyers can give you information more to be relied on than mine. I tender you my salutations and assurances of respect.

TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1808.

MY DEAR SIR,—I wrote you last on the 14th of July, since which I have received your several favors of July 8, August 11, September 10, December 5, and January 11. This last has been a sincere affliction to me. My knowledge of the extraordinary worth of our deceased friend, her amiable and excellent character, her value to yourself, her family and friends, and the void it would make at the house of La Grange, sufficiently apprise me of the immensity of this loss. But on this subject I will say no more; for experience in the same school has taught me that time and silence are the only medicines.

I will now proceed to your affairs. I mentioned in a former letter that Mr. Gallatin had compromised the claims of the city of New Orleans by a line to be run 600 yards from the outer lines of the town. So that what was beyond that became open to your location and left it clear of dispute. I have not yet learned what location of the residue has been made by Mr. Duplantier. Through an indirect channel I know that on the 13th of November last he located 10,000 acres, and that on the

15th of March the surveyor had finished surveying 9,000 acres of them. Where they lie particularly I do not know, but as Mr. Duplantier had the first choice they must be good and well situated. The moment the surveys are brought here I will sign the grants, which in the meantime are as secure as if already signed. I am sorry to learn that your necessities are so pressing as to induce you to propose a sale of them at this time. If I am not deceived in my anticipations of the rise in value of property near New Orleans, they will double in value three times within ten or twelve years. That is to say, that twelve years hence they will be worth eight times what they now are. How desirable then, my dear friend, must it be for the future welfare of yourself and family that the necessity of selling could be postponed for that term. The payment of interest is a mere nothing in comparison of the rise in value. A dozen years hence the sale of one-eighth will pay as much as that of the whole now. And should it be insisted that the payment of interest be annually made, this may be done by an annual sale of a few lots adjacent to the city of New Orleans. I am not without hopes that in Europe, where the safe placing of funds in these times of uncertainty must be an object with many, that you may be able to effect this on the hypothecation of these lands which, from the moment of their being surveyed, become a safe and fixed subject of hypothecation.

I spoke with Colonel Monroe on this subject on his return and lately wrote to him. He answers me in these words: "I think I informed you or Mr. Madison that the Barings had agreed to wait the term mentioned in your letter (ten years) or some such term, for the reimbursement of the money with interest, which they had advanced to General Lafayette on being secured in it. Such was the fact, it having been communicated to me by Alexander Baring for your and Mr. Madison's information, just before I left London. It seems, therefore, most desirable to proceed on that idea and to give information of it to Lafayette. I will, however, be happy to write Mr. Baring, if you deem it necessary, after receiving this information."

Thus you see the practicability of procuring a postponement of this portion of your wants, and I should suppose the genius and knowledge of our friend Mr. Parker would readily find capitalists and effect negotiations for the further sum necessary for you on the hypothecation of funds so solid as these, and than which I do not think more solid can be found on earth.

I am the more encouraged to hope you may avoid a sale by information I have this moment received from Monsieur Mon-Tarbé, who is this far on his return from Charleston, and who tells me he is authorized by Mr. Hager of South Carolina to inform you that he has secured for you a debt from some General (whose name Monsieur Mon-

Tarbé does not recollect, but I presume the late General Greene's estate) of twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars, for which you have only to send "vos titres" (this was his expression) and the money would be paid instantly. With this windfall, with Mr. Baring's indulgence, and the talents and friendship of Mr. Parker, or some other of your friends, I cannot help hoping you may postpone the sale of your lands and avoid the cruel sacrifice that would now occasion.

My zeal for your interest has occasioned me, perhaps, to press this subject on you too much, but you know the sincerity of the motives and will excuse it. A short visit to this place and New Orleans, if you cannot make a long one, would enable you to judge for yourself better than all your friends can do for you.

I will not write news to you lest it should endanger passage of my letter. I will barely mention that Mr. Madison will most unquestionably be elected my successor, by a majority of three to one, and rather probably by an unanimous vote. The newspapers may deceive abroad, but all this is well understood here. Till the last autumn, I have every autumn written to Madame de Tessé and sent her a box of seeds. I saw with infinite mortification that they were either carried into England or arrived so late as to answer no purpose to her. The state of the ocean the last fall was, and continues to be, so desperate that it is vain to attempt

anything again till that be changed. By that time I shall be maker of my own time and can never employ it more in gratifying my own feelings than in doing what will be acceptable to her. Assure her of my continued friendship, be so good as to add my respects to Monsieur de Tessé and to accept yourself the assurance of my affectionate attachment and respect.

TO THOMAS PAINE.

WASHINGTON, July 17, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 8th received some days ago. Mr. Holmes did apply to me in the course of the late session for information regarding some application of yours, the particulars of which I do not now recollect. But I well remember it was on some matter which took place while I was not a member of Congress and, therefore, knew nothing of but what was on the records. I was absent from Congress from 1777 to 1803, being during that interval closely employed by my own State. I advised him to examine the files of the Department of State and have no doubt he obtained all the information they furnish.

Your ideas expressed in the latter part of your letter are undoubtedly correct. They were taken up the moment the law passed giving a power of suspending the embargo in whole or in part

on the repeal of the decrees or orders of council. As yet we have reached no fruit from our endeavors.

Proposing to absent myself from this place during the sickly season now approaching and much occupied with the preparations, I must here place my salutations and assurances of great esteem and respect.

TO ARCHIBALD STUART.

WASHINGTON, October 22, 1808.

DEAR SIR,—A Mr. William Jenkings, who lives four or five miles from the Natural Bridge, and whom I suppose to be a merchant, called on me two days ago to propose to purchase my lands at the bridge. I asked him some questions about the adjacent land in order to get his ideas of the value. He said the adjacent tract had been sold two or three times at about ten dollars and some of it as high as four pounds the acre. I enquired if the land on mine was as good. I think he said it was, but that it was all thin land, would not make a good farm, but that his object was to erect a public house there, as the curiosity of the bridge drew great numbers to see it. I told him the idea of selling it had never before presented itself to my mind, and he concluded to call on me at Monticello in March next.

You will do me the favor to make inquiry what the land should sell for according to prices in that

neighborhood, and without taking the bridge into consideration, which as a curiosity gives value to the stand. To me the money would be of more value and would be convenient on breaking up here. You have been so kind as to attend to the payment of the taxes and it is now several years since I have made any reimbursement, so that it must now amount to something sensible. Be so good as to let me know its amount and it shall be immediately remitted. Should the payment have escaped attention so long as to endanger the land, I would pray it to be immediately secured. When I come home I will find some means of relieving you from this trouble. As soon as you can give me information of the value I shall be happy to hear from you. I salute you with constant friendship and respect.

TO ROBERT FULTON.

MONTICELLO, April 16, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I received yesterday, on my return from a journey, your letter of March 28th and have to thank you for the drawing of your self-moving belier hydraulique, which a first reading shows to be simple and ingenious, and I have no doubt will answer. It shall have my early attention. The object of this prompt reply to your letter, is the offer you so kindly made of lending me your

dynamometer. It will be the greatest favor you can do me.

The Agricultural Society of the Seine sent me one of Guillaume's famous ploughs, famous for taking but half the moving power of their best ploughs before used. They, at the same time, requested me to send them one of our best, with my mould board to it. I promised I would, as soon as I retired home and could see to its construction myself. In the meantime I wrote to a friend at Paris to send me a dynamometer, which he did. Unfortunately this, with some other valued articles of mine, were lost on its passage from Washington to Monticello. I have made the plough and am greatly deceived if it is not found to give less resistance than theirs. In fact I think it is the finest plough which has ever been constructed in America. But it is the actual experiment alone which can decide this, and I was with great reluctance about to send off the plough untried when I received your kind offer. I will pray you to send the instrument to Mr. Jefferson of Richmond by some careful passenger in the stage, who will see that it does not miscarry by the way; or by some vessel bound from New York direct to Richmond, which is the safest though slowest conveyance. I suppose there can never be a week that some vessel is not coming. I sincerely wish the torpedo may go the whole length you expect of putting down navies. I wish

it too much not to become an easy convert and to give it all my prayers and interest. Accept assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO DR. WILLIAM EUSTIS.
(SECRETARY OF WAR)

MONTECILLO, MAY 30, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—In the action brought agaist me by E. Livingston on the subject of the batture, the counsel employed desire me, *without delay*, to furnish them with the grounds of defense, that they may know what pleas to put in. To do this a communication of the papers in the several public offices material to the case is very essential You will be so kind as to have selected such of those deposited in your office as may offer either useful information, or evidence on the subject, on my assurance that they shall be faithfully and promptly returned, after noting from them what I may think important. Mr. Smith, the head clerk of your office, is so well acquainted with this subject, that I think he can readily make the selection with your permission. I must particularly ask a copy of General Dearborne's letter or order removing the aggressors by force. This was between the dates of 1807, Nov. 27, and Jan. 29, 1808. I should be glad that a list of the papers sent me be taken, that their return may be verified. Accept the assurances of my esteem and respect

TO W. B. GILES.

MONTICELLO, November 12, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—You have heard of the suit brought by E. Livingston against me on the subject of the batture. This has rendered it necessary for me to make a statement of the facts for the use of my counsel, and the justification which they offer being derived from certain systems of foreign law in force at New Orleans, which I have had more time to enquire into then they. I have been led to go into a full investigation of both the law and fact of the case. This I now enclose to you with the following view: I am apprehensive that Livingston's assiduities and intrigue may induce Congress to some vote referring his claim to judges or commissioners. The countenance of such a vote would impress a jury sensitively and unfavorably to me. I wish the matter to rest as it does till the trial, and Congress may leave it so with the more propriety, inasmuch as Livingston himself has transferred it from before them to another tribunal.

I have thought I might rely on your justice as well as your friendship to allude to this case in the Senate so far as to prevent his obtaining there any vote injurious to a fair trial; and to satisfy your conscience that this will do him no injustice, I ask your perusal of the enclosed. I am sensible it is of a revolting length, but the variety and novelty of the points it brings forward will not

be uninteresting to you as a lawyer. When you shall have read it, be so good as to send it by post to Mr. Eppes for which purpose I enclose a franked cover. I have requested of him to bestow in the House of Representatives the same attention I ask of you in the Senate, and from both I request that no communication of the topics of my defense may be made to anybody, unless indeed, any attempts in Congress might render it necessary to use them. You are sensible what advantage a knowledge of them would give my adversary. Were this case before an impartial court it would never give me a moment's concern, but Livingston would never have brought it in such a court The deep-seated enmity of one judge and utter nullity of the other, with the precedent of Burr's case, lessen the confidence which the justice of my case would otherwise give me. Should the Federalists, from Livingston's example, undertake to harass and run me down with prosecutions before Federal judges, I see neither rest nor safety before me. Wishing you the pleasure of a smooth session, I salute you with all affection.

TO JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO, December 8, 1810.

DEAR SIR,—I found among my papers the enclosed survey of Lafayette's lands adjacent to New Orleans. Whether it be the legal survey or

not I do not know. If it is it gives a prospect of something considerable after the six hundred yards laid off round the ramparts. I enclose it to you as it may possibly be of use. With me it can be of none.

I enclose you also a piece in manuscript from Dupont on the subject of our system of finance when the progress of manufactures shall have dried up the present source of our revenue. He is, as you know, a rigorous economist, and although the system be not new yet he always gives something new, and places his subject in strong lights. The application of the system to our situation also is new. On the whole it is well worth your reading, however oppressed with reading. When done with it I will thank you to hand it to Mr. Gallatin, with a request to return it to me when he shall have read it.

I have had a visit from Mr. Warden. A failure in the stage detained him here ten days. I suppose you had hardly as good an opportunity of becoming acquainted with him. He is a perfectly good-humored, inoffensive man, a man of science, and, I observe, a great favorite of those in Paris, and much more a man of business than Armstrong had represented him. His memoirs and proceedings in the cases of vessels seized show this. I observed he had a great longing for his late office in Paris. I explained to him distinctly the impossibility of his succeeding in a competition before

the Senate with such a man as Russell, a native, and of high standing. That failing I endeavored to find out what other views and prospects he might have. I find that he is poor, and looks ultimately to the practice of physic for an independent livelihood; that he wishes to find some means of living while he should be pursuing that study. He spoke of a secretaryship in one of the territories as desirable in that view and I believe he would suit that office. However any appointment [would do] which would give him present subsistence. The consulships which rely on mercantile business he does not much relish, having no turn to shillings and pence. Having left Paris very hastily he would be glad to go back as the bearer of public despatches to settle his affairs there, if there should be occasion for a messenger. I collected these things from him indirectly, believing you would wish to know his views. He is an interesting man, perfectly modest and good, and of a delicate mind, his principal seems to have thrown him first on the hands of the Executive and then off of his own.

We have not yet received your message from which we expect to learn our situation as well with our neighbors as beyond the Atlantic. Wishing you an easy and prosperous campaign for the winter, I renew the assurances of my constant affection and respect.

TO JAMES MONROE.

MONTICELLO, January 8, 1811.

DEAR SIR,—I received your friendly letter of December 24th on my return from Bedford, at which place I was at its date. It conveyed me the first notice of the attempt to draw me into the newspapers on the subject of the propositions which had been passed between the agents of the Rivanna company and myself for their accommodation in passing the navigation through my lands. I immediately inquired into it, and found it was John Nicholas, who, having been permitted by the agents (called directors) to read the papers, had written long animadversions which he wished to get with the correspondence into the newspapers.

Although there is nothing in the correspondence which I would wish to conceal yet I am now at that time of life when quiet is the *summum bonum*, and I do not see that the public could be either amused or benefited by having me dragged into the papers and harrowed by malignant discussions on every private bargain which, in the ordinary course of things, we are all obliged to be engaged in. I am very thankful, therefore, to Mr. Ritchie for having rescued me from being disturbed by this miserable scribbler.

I enclose you the correspondence with a request that you will be so good as to peruse it. The sum of what has passed is this: Your gentlemen

directors, observing that my mill dam and canal present a dead sheet of water from the entrance of the river into the mountain, at the Secretary's ford, to its exit at my mill, desire the use of my dam to keep the back water at its present navigable state. Use it. I shall maintain it for my own purposes. But we wish to raise it two feet. Then you must maintain the dam yourselves, because, being raised to five feet, it will be carried away ten times for once if it remains at three feet. Then we will not raise it; but we wish the use of your canal. You are welcome to it. But we wish to widen it for batteaux. You are free to widen it, but as admitting a greater volume of water will certainly destroy the bank in some places you must maintain the bank. Agreed, but we shall want a site for our lock at the lower end. I give it to you. T mber, earth, stone to build it. I give it to you, all common timber. Fine timber trees must be paid for. Agreed, we want a site and timber for our toll house. I give them to you. But while we are widening the canal we must stop your mills perhaps for a month. You may do it and I will charge you nothing for the rent of my manufacturing mills for a month, nor the suspension of my [illegible] mill, the two objects amounting to about two hundred dollars; if, after this, your works, or the using your locks, would stop my mills you must pay for the time. We agree to it. And I thought the matter settled;

but I have heard that they are not satisfied nor decided. Observe that this is not a general but merely a local object. It is only to carry the navigation from Milton to Moon's ford, in other words to Charlottesville, a question between the two towns. The people up the river are left to open their own navigation. Nor do I believe the navigation will be used when done, because a wagon once at Charlottesville will go on to the Shadwell mills for less than even the toll of a barrel of flour, which is 9 d. besides the price of the watermen.

I state all these things to you and have asked you to peruse the correspondence, because it is well you should possess the whole subject, as perhaps it may go to the legislature. Indeed the directors acknowledge that the former act had done wrong in authorizing the toll to be taken at Milton instead of the falls next above the Shadwell mills, from whence there is at present a perfectly safe navigation. For Mr. Randolph and myself, at our own expense (of about three hundred dollars) have opened a sluice through the Milton falls which we shall still further perfect. I am told there is a law, passed some years back, declaring there shall be no future grants of the beds of rivers or creeks and annulling all the past. The former is within the power of the legislature, the latter is not. They can neither pass a law that my head shall be stricken from my body without trial, nor my freehold taken

from me without indemnification, and when not necessary for a public use. In this case the public can use the bed of the river without taking the property of it from me. By the common law, which was the law here till this act, the king cannot grant away tidewaters, they are reserved for the use of the nation. But *all other waters* were ever grantable, here as well as in England. And how is a line to be drawn between rivers and creeks, and other brooks and branches? I think the judges would determine the annulling former grants as merely void. It is material in my case only as showing, when the Shadwell mill was built fifty years ago, no trespass was committed on the bed of the river which was private property, and that no wrong having been committed, it does not subject the proprietor to any *ex post facto* burden, as the building of a lock, etc. In the case of Magruder, who did not own the bed of the river and who got leave to build a dam after the public had been forty years in the exercise of their right of navigation along the river, Captain Meriwether and the other commissioners for improving the navigation, gave him five hundred dollars to build and maintain a lock. This was more, perhaps, than he had a right to, and is mentioned only to show the difference of measure meted to him and to me, if it should be proposed to force me to build and maintain a lock.

All this, however, is submitted to your con-

sideration. If the matter is carried to the legislature, do what you think is right and it will be perfectly satisfactory to me. Ever yours affectionately.

TO REVEREND JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO. December 29, 1811.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of Nov. 19th arrived here just as I had set out for Bedford, from whence I returned a few days ago and found your letter here. I thank you for Mr. Lambert's calculations on my observation of the late eclipse of the sun. I have been for some time rubbing up my mathematics from the rust contracted by fifty years' pursuits of a different kind. And thanks to the good foundation laid at college by my old master and friend Small, I am doing it with a delight and success beyond my expectation. I had observed the eclipse of September 17th with a view to calculate from it myself, the longitude of Monticello; but other occupations had prevented it before my journey. The elaborate paper of Mr. Lambert shows me it would have been a more difficult undertaking than I had foreseen, and that probably I should have foundered in it. I have no telescope equal to the observation of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, but as soon as I can fit up a room to fix my instruments in, I propose to amuse myself with further essays of multiplied repetitions and

less laborious calculations. I have a fine theodolite and equatorial both by Ramsden, a Hadley's circle of Borda, a fine meridian and horizon as you know. Once ascertaining the dip of my horizon, I can use the circle as at sea, without an artificial horizon.

Do you think of ever giving us a second edition of your map? If you do, I may be able to furnish you with some latitudes. I have a pocket sextant of miraculous accuracy, considering its microscopic graduation. With this I have ascertained the latitude of Poplar Forest, (say New London) by multiplied observations, and lately that of Willis mountains by observations of my own, repeated by my grandson, whom I am carrying on in his different studies. Any latitudes within the circuit of these three places I could take for you myself, to which my grandson, whose motions will be on a larger scale, would be able to add others. My unremitting occupations while you were engaged in the first publication, put it out of my power to furnish you with some local draughts which might have aided you. To wit: Some very accurate surveys of James rives from Cartersville about ten miles upwards, some of the river in this neighborhood, some county lines, the country between New Loudon and Lynchburg, etc.

Accept my friendly salutations and assurances of great and continued esteem and respect.

TO ANDREW ELLICOTT.

MONTICELLO, June 24, 1812.

DEAR SIR,—I have duly received your favor of the 3d and thank you in advance for that of a copy of your observations, when they will be published. There always existed a doubt whether the source of the Savannah was not north of the 35th degree, which your labors have now removed. A great deal is yet wanting to ascertain the true geography of our country; more indeed as to its longitudes than latitudes. Towards this we have done too little for ourselves and depended too long on the ancient and inaccurate observations of other nations. You are wiping off this reproach, and will, I hope, be long continued in that work. All this will be for a future race when the super-lunary geography will have become the object of my contemplations. Yet I do not wish it the less. On the same principle on which I am still planting trees, to yield their shade and ornament half a century hence.

With my best wishes for the success of your labors, accept the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO WILLIAM BARTON.

MONTICELLO, October 2, 1812.

Thomas Jefferson presents his compliments to Mr. Barton and returns him the paper he was so kind as to inclose him, and to which he has subscribed with great pleasure. In this he has equally gratified his affectionate reverence for the character of Dr. Rittenhouse and his friendship and best wishes toward his much-esteemed connections; and he is satisfied that the life of such a man must offer a model and useful lesson to mankind in general. He salutes Mr. Barton with friendship and respect.

TO ALRICHS AND DIXON.

MONTICELLO, January 14, 1813.

Your favor of Dec. 2 arrived here when I was on a journey which occasioned me an absence of between five and six weeks. I found it on my return here, and learning at the same time that the carding machine was on its way up the river I waited till I could acknowledge the receipt of both together. The machine arrived safely, and has now been at work some days. The person who directs my factory I found to be not so well acquainted with it as I supposed. He could not make it produce a perfect roll until he made some alteration (probably not for the better) which

adapted it to his own ideas. It produced at first a roll partly flat; it now produces it perfect. The force required to turn it is almost nothing, but the velocity with which it must be turned is fatiguing. I am putting a six-inch whirl in place of the handle of the great cylinder, to be driven by a two-foot wheel and band so that the hand will make one revolution where it now makes four. This I expect will be a less fatiguing composition of force and velocity than the present. The addition will be attached by two screws only, so that if it does not answer, it will be taken off and leave the machine exactly as it now is. I will immediately desire Messrs. Gibson and Jefferson of Richmond to remit you the $97, amount of your bill.

Your favor of Jan. 1st is just now received, there being near me a wool-carding machine going by water renders the question as to hand-carding machines for that article less important. Accept my thanks for your attention to this little commission of mine and the assurances of my esteem and respect.

TO ROBERT FULTON.

MONTICELLO, March 8, 1813.

DEAR SIR,—It has been some time since I have tried the experiments for which you were so kind as to lend me your dynamometer and the reconveyance by sea and under the care of some passenger.

This to New York never happens from our quarter, to Philadelphia once or twice a year only, if I knew with whom to lodge it there for you. To Washington I could more frequently send it. I must, therefore, ask your instructions on this subject.

A Mr. Abraham Howard Quincy, number 108 Chatham street, New York, informs me he has made an improvement in fireplaces, such as that with one-tenth of the fuel ordinarily laid on a fire and that kept up but one hour in five, maintains summer temperature in the room, and he has requested me to ask some friend in whom I have confidence to call on him and receive his demonstrations of it. I have no acquaintance there whose turn is mechanical, of whom I could ask this; but it occurs to me that you may possibly be there occasionally, and that your affection to improvements in the arts might induce you to take the trouble to examine this one, my confidence in your judgment as to the reality of the improvement would settle my opinion. I would therefore ask you to give a leisure moment to this examination.

I rejoice at your success in your steamboats and have no doubt they will be the source of great wealth to yourself and permanent blessing to your country. I hope your torpedoes will equally triumph over doubting friends and presumptuous enemies. I sincerely condole with you on the

death of our much-to-be-lamented friend Barlow. The slender thread by which Mrs. Barlow's life hung will probably be broken by this calamity, and I consider the loss as irreparable to our country, when I look for the man capable of writing its history. In this view I lamented his going to Europe at all. Accept the assurance of my affectionate esteem and respect.

TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

MONTICELLO, June 19, 1813.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 11th instant is just received, and I repeat the sincere pleasure it has given me to see you once more come forward on the stage of the nation.[1] I have never thought the post you now occupy the most agreeable one the nation can give, and very far preferable to that which its highest favor confers. And I have hoped that within three days' journey of one another, it would afford some occasion of interview. Not indeed at Washington, for I am too old and too much engaged to propose such a journey of mere indulgence to my moral feelings at the expense of my physical ones, but the chance I look to was that of some short and occasional adjournment of Congress, during the interval of which, at a loss how otherwise to fill it, you might think a tour through some part of this State not merely super-

[1] Gerry had been elected Vice-President of the United States.

vacaneous. Were this to happen, I had hoped that an acquaintance of half a century, and a fellow laborer in good works might be an object in the tour. In no part of it could you be received with more pleasure or retained with greater cordiality. Let me then believe this possible, and in the meantime assure you of the unceasing sentiments of friendship and respect of yours most affectionately and respectfully.

TO JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO, July 13, 1813.

DEAR SIR,—I was so unlucky as to write you a long letter of business when, as I learned soon afterwards, you were too ill to be troubled with any matter of business. My comfort has been in the confidence that care would of course be taken not to disturb you with letters. My hope in writing the present is of a pleasanter kind, the flattering one that you are entirely recovered. If the prayers of millions have been of avail, they have been poured forth with the deepest anxiety. The enclosed letter from Mr. Fulton will inform you why a similar one did not go to you direct, and that this is forwarded by express desire. Mr. Fulton's ingenuity is inexhaustable and his disinterested devotion of it to his country very laudable. If his present device depended on me, I should try it on the judgment of an officer so well skilled as Decatur.

It is one of those experiments which neither the personal interest nor the faculties of a private individual can ever bring into use, while it is highly interesting to the nation. Intersected as we are by many and deep waters, and unable to meet the enemy on them with an equal force, our only hope is in the discovery of the means which ingenuity may devise whereby the weak may defend themselves against the strong. This is done at land by fortifications, and not being against any law of nature, we may hope that something equivalent may be discovered for the water.

You know the present situation of our friend Strode, entirely penniless. How he comes to be left to subsist himself by his labors in subordinate employments, while his son is at his ease, I am not informed. Nor whether they have had any differences. Yet the fact is that he is in indigence, and anxious to get his living by any services he can render. You know his qualifications. The public iron works, the armory, the army or some of the sedentary offices at Washington may perhaps offer some employment analogous to his talents. His wish is to earn a livelihood and although in his letter to me he does not propose to solicit anything, yet the expressions of his situation show that decent employment could not fail to be very acceptable.

We are at the close of the poorest harvest I have ever seen. I shall not carry into my barn

more than one-third of an ordinary crop. But one rain to wet the ground since April. A remarkable drying wind with great heat the first days of the harvest, dried up the skin of the wheat so that it fell before the scythe instead of being cut. I have seen harvests lost by wet, but never before saw one lost by dry weather. I have suffered more by the drought than my neighbors. Most of them will make a half a crop, some two-thirds. Much of the evil had been prepared by the winter and the fly. It is not too late yet for the corn to recover should there come rains shortly. It never was seen so low before at this date. Our gardens are totally burnt up and the river so low that you can almost jump over it in some places.

Wishing you a speedy and perfect restoration of your health, I pray you to accept the assurance of my constant and affectionate esteem and respect.

TO ROBERT FULTON.

MONTICELLO, July 21, 1813,

DEAR SIR,—Immediately on the receipt of your favor of July 8th I forwarded it to the President, and had no hesitation in expressing my own wish that it should be tried. In fact as we cannot meet the British with an equality of physical force, we must supply it by other devices, in which I know nobody equal to yourself and so likely to point out to us a mode of salvation.

Accordingly I hope this honor is reserved for you, and that either by subaqueous guns, torpedoes, or diving boats you will accomplish it by the aid of government. The New York Evening Post has given us a quiz on this subject, hoping, I presume, to draw a flimsy veil of jest over his habitual lies, and wishing us to suppose all those were but jests. I confess I have more hopes of the mode of destruction by the submarine boat than any other. No law of nature opposes it, and in that case nothing is to be despaired of by human invention, nor particularly by yours.

Accept the just tribute of an American citizen, and of a friend in the assurances of my great esteem and respect.

TO ABIGAIL ADAMS
(MRS. JOHN ADAMS).

MONTICELLO, August 22, 1813.

DEAR MADAM,—A kind note at the foot of Mr. Adams' letter of July 15 reminds me of the duty of saluting you with friendship and respect, a duty long suspended by the unremitting labors of public engagement and which ought to have been sooner revived, since I am the proprietor of my own time. And yet so it is, that in no course of life have I been ever more closely pressed by business than in the present. Much of this proceeds from my own affairs, much from the calls of others;

leaving little time for indulgence in my greatest of all amusements, reading. Dr. Franklin used to say that when he was young and had time to read he had not books; and now when he has become old and had books, he had no time. Perhaps it is that when habit has strengthened our sense of duties, they leave us no time for other things; but when young we neglect them and this gives us time for anything.

However, I will now take time to ask you how you do, how you have done? and to express the interest I take in whatever affects your happiness. I have been concerned to learn that at one time you suffered much and long from rheumatism, and I can sympathize with you the more feelingly as I have had more of it myself latterly than at any former period; and can form a truer idea of what it is in its higher degrees. Excepting for this I have enjoyed general health; for I do not consider as a want of health the gradual decline and increasing debility which is the natural diathesis of age; this last comes on me fast. I am not able to walk much, though I still ride without fatigue and take long and frequent journeys to a distant possession.

I have compared notes with Mr. Adams on the score of progeny and find I am ahead of him and think I am in a fair way to keep so. I have ten and one-half grandchildren, and two and three-fourths great-grandchildren, and these fractions will ere long become units.

I was glad to learn from Mr. Adams that you have a grandson far enough advanced in age and acquirements to be reading Greek. These young scions give us comfortable cares, when we cease to care about ourselves. Under all circumstances of health or sickness, of blessing or affliction, I tender you assurances of my sincere affection and respect; and my prayers that the hand of time and of providence may press lightly on you till your own wishes shall withdraw you from all mortal feeling.

TO DUPONT DE NEMOURS.

MONTICELLO, November 29, 1813.

MY VERY DEAR AND ESTIMABLE FRIEND,—In answering the several very kind letters I have received from you, I owe to yourself and to the most able and estimable author of the Commentaries on Montesquieu to begin by assuring you that I am not the author of that work, and of my own consciousness that it is far beyond my qualifications. In truth I consider it as a most profound and logical work which has been presented to the present generation. On the subject of government particularly there is a purity which renders it precious to our country particularly, where I trust it will become the elementary work for the youth of our academies and colleges. The paradoxes of Montesquieu have been too long uncorrected. I will

not fail to send you a copy of the work if possible to get it through the perils of the sea.

I am next to return you thanks for the copy of the works of Turgot now completed by the receipt of the last volume. In him we know not which most to admire, the comprehensiveness of his mind or the benevolence and purity of his heart. In his Distribution of Riches and other general works, and in the great principles developed in his smaller work we admire the gigantic stature of his mind, but when we see that mind thwarted, harassed, maligned and forced to exert all its powers in the details of provincial administration we regret to see a Hercules laying his shoulder to the wheel of an ox-cart. The sound principles which he establishes in his particular as well as general works, are a valuable legacy to ill-governed man, and will spread from their provincial limits to the great circle of mankind.

I am indebted to you also for your letter by Mr. Correa, and the benefit it procured me of his acquaintance. He was so kind as to pay me a visit at Monticello, which enabled me to see for myself that he was still beyond all the eulogies with which yourself and other friends had preconized him. Learned beyond any one I had before met with, good, modest and of the simplest manners, the idea of losing him again filled me with regret, and how much did I lament that we could not place him at the head of that great insti-

tution which I have so long nourished the hope of seeing established in my country, and towards which you had so kindly contributed your luminous views. But, my friend, that institution is still in embryo as you left it, and from the complexion of our popular legislature and the narrow and niggardly views of ignorance courting the suffrage of ignorance to obtain a seat in it, I see little prospect of such an establishment until the national government shall be authorized to take it up and form it on the comprehensive basis of all the useful sciences.

The inauspicious commencement of our war has damped at first the hopes of fulfilling your injunctions to add the Floridas and Canada to our confederacy. The former indeed might have been added but for our steady adherence to the sound principles of national integrity which forbade us to take what was a neighbor's merely because it suited us and especially from a neighbor under circumstances of peculiar affliction. But seeing now that his afflictions do not prevent him from making those provinces a focus of hostile and savage combinations of the massacre of our women and children by the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Indian, these scruples must yield to the necessities of self-defence. And I trust that the ensuing session of Congress will authorize the incorporation of it with ourselves. Their inhabitants universally wish it, and they are in truth

the only legitimate proprietors of the soil and government.

Canada might have been ours in the preceding year but for the treachery of our general, who unfortunately commanded on its border. There could have been no serious resistance to the progress of the force he commanded in its march through Upper Canada, but he sold and delivered his army, fortified and furnished as it was, to an enemy one-fourth his numbers. This was followed by a series of losses flowing from the same source of unqualified commanders; carelessness, cowardice, foolhardiness and sheer imbecility lost us four other successive bodies of men, who, under faithful and capable leaders, would have saved us from the affliction and the English from the crime of the thousands of men, women and children murdered and scalped by the savages under her procurement and direction of British officers, some on capitulation, some in the field and some in their houses and beds. The determined bravery of our men, whether regulars or militia, evidenced in every circumstance when the treachery or imbecility of their commanders permitted, still kept up our confidence and sounder and abler men now placed at their head have given us possession of the whole of Upper Canada and the lakes. At the moment I am writing I am in hourly expectation of learning that General Wilkinson, who, about the 10th instant, was descending upon Montreal has taken possession of it, the

force of the enemy there being not such as to give us much apprehension. Between that place and Quebec there is nothing to stop us but the advance of the season.

The achievements of our little navy have claimed and obtained the admiration of all, in spite of the endeavors of the English by lying misrepresentations of the force of their vessels on both sides to conceal the truth, the loss indeed of one-half a dozen frigates and sloops of war is no sensible diminution of numbers to them, but the loss of the general opinion that they were invincible at sea, the lesson taught to the world that they can be beaten by an equal force, has by its moral effect lost them half their physical force. I consider ourselves as now possessed of everything from Florida point to the walls of Quebec. This last place is not worth the blood it would cost. It may be considered as impregnable to an enemy not possessing the water. I hope, therefore, we shall not attempt it, but leave it to be voluntarily evacuated by its inhabitants, cut off from all sources of subsistence by the loss of the upper country. I will ask you no questions, my friend, about your return to the United States at your time of life; it is scarcely perhaps advisable. An exchange of the society, the urbanity and the real comforts to which you have been formed by the habits of a long life would be a great and real sacrifice. Whether, therefore, I shall ever see you again or not,

let me live in your esteem as you ever will in mine, most affectionately and devotedly.

P. S. Monticello, Dec. 14. We have been disappointed in the result of the expedition against Montreal. The second in command, who had been detached ashore with a large portion of the army, failing to join the main body according to orders at the entrance of the Lake St. Francis, the enterprise was of necessity abandoned at that point, and the inclemency of the winter being already set in, the army was forced to go into winter quarters near that place. Since the date of my letter I have received yours of September 18 and a printed copy of your plan of national education of which I possessed the MS. If I can get this translated and printed, it will contribute to advance the public mind to undertake the institution; the persuading those of the benefit of science who possess none is a slow operation.

TO THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

MONTICELLO, November 30, 181[illegible].

MY DEAR FRIEND AND GENERAL,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of yours of Dec. 1, '12, and its duplicate of May 30, '13, and am pleased that our arrangement with Mr. Morton proves satisfactory. I believed it would be so, and that a substantial and friendly house there might some-

times be a convenience, when, from the dangers of the sea, difficulty of finding good bills, or other casualities, Mr. Barnes' remittances might incur unavoidable delay. He is at this time making arrangements with Mr. Williams, the correspondent of Mr. Morton, for the usual remittance, having for some time past been unable to get a good bill.

You have heard without doubt of the inauspicious commencement of our war by land. Our old officers of high command were all withdrawn by death or age. Scott closed the list of the dead a few weeks ago, and happy for us would it have been could we have followed your advice in appointing new generals; and could we have been directed in our choice to those only who were good. But this is a lottery in which are few prizes and our first draught fell among the blanks. The first called into action delivered his army and fort up to a quarter of his own numbers of the English. He might have taken possession of all Upper Canada almost without resistance. This was followed by cases of surprise, of cowardice, of foolhardiness and of sheer imbecility, by which bodies of men were successively lost as fast as they could be raised; and thus the first year of the war was lost. General Wilkinson, who you knew in the late war, has at length been called from the Southern Department; General Hampton also; and they are doing what their predecessors ought to have done last year. We have taken all the posts and

country on Lakes Erie and Ontario; and General Wilkinson, on the 10th instant, was about entering the Lake St. Francis in his descent to Montreal, and would, in three or four days, reach Montreal, where the British force is such as not to give uneasiness for the result. I trust he is now in possession of it, and there being neither a post nor a man between that and Quebec, we may consider ourselves as commanding the whole country to the walls of that city. The season, however, will probably oblige us to make Montreal our winter quarters.

Kingston, at the east end of Lake Ontario, has been left unmolested, because being of some strength and well garrisoned, it would have required a siege and the advance of the season would have disappointed us as to all below; insulated as it is from succors and subsistence it must capitulate at our leisure. This, my friend, is the present state of things by land; and as I know not yet how or when this letter is to go, I may by a P. S., be able to add what shall have actually taken place at Montreal. It is a duty, however, to add that in every instance our men, militia as well as regulars, have acted with an intrepidity which would have honored veteran legions, and have proved that, had their officers understood their duty as well as those of our little navy, they would have shown themselves equally superior to our enemy who had dared to despise us.

On the ocean we have taught a lesson of value to all mankind, that they can be beaten there with equal force. We have corrected the idea of their invincibility, which by its moral effect annihilates half their physical force. I do not believe the naval history of the world has furnished a more splendid achievement of skill and bravery than that of Perry on Lake Erie. They threaten now to hang our prisoners reclaimed by them, although naturalized with us, and if we retaliate, to burn our cities. We shall certainly retaliate, and if they burn New York, Norfolk, Charleston, we must burn London, Portsmouth, Plymouth, not with our ships but by our money; not with our own hands, but by those of their own incendiaries. They have in their streets thousands of famished wretches, who, for a loaf of bread to keep off death one day longer and more eagerly for a million of dollars, will spread to them the flames which they shall kindle in New York. It is not for those who live in glass houses to set the example of throwing stones, what is atrocious as an example becomes a duty to repress by retaliation.

If we have taken, as I expect, the residue of their troops above Quebec, we have as many of their troops taken by honorable fighting as they have of ours purchased or surprised. I have less fear now for our war than for the peace which is to conclude it. Your idea that our line of future demarcation should be from some point in Lake

Champlain is a good one, because that would shut up all their scalp markets, but that of their entire removal from the continent is a better one. While they hold a single spot in it it will be a station from which they will send forth their Henrys upon us to debauch traitors, nourish conspiracies, smuggle in their manufactures and defeat our commercial laws. Unfortunately our peace commissioners left us while our affairs were still under the depression of Hull's treason and its consequences, and they would as soon learn their revival in the moon as in St. Petersburg. The English newspapers will still fill their ears, as those of all Europe, with lies and induce them to offer terms of peace under these erroneous impressions; and a peace which does not leave us the Canadas will be but a truce. As for the Floridas they are giving themselves to us. I hope, therefore, no peace will be made which does not yield us this indemnification for the thousand of ships they took during peace, the thousands of our citizens impressed, their machinations for dissevering our Union, the insults they have heaped upon us, the inhuman war they have waged with the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage, the suffocation of our prisoners in pestiferous jails and prison ships, and the other atrocities against national and individual morality which have degraded them from the rank of civilized nations.

The longer the peace is delayed, the more firm

will became the establishment of our manufactures. The growth and extent of these can be conceived by none who does not see them. Of coarse and middling fabrics we never again shall import. The manufacture of the fine cottons is carried also to great extent and perfection. A million of cotton spindles nearly being, I think, now employed in the United States. This single advancement in economy, begun by our embargo law, continued by that of non-importation, and confirmed by the present total cessation of commercial intercourse, was worth alone all the war will cost us.

I have thus, my dear friend, given you the present state of things with us, which I had done with the more minuteness because I know that no native among us takes a livelier interest in them than you do. The tree which you had so zealously assisted in planting you cannot but delight in seeing watered and flourishing. Happy for us would it have been if a valor, fidelity and skill like yours had directed those early efforts which were so unfortunately confided to unworthy hands. We should have been a twelve month ago where we now are, and now where we shall be a twelve month hence. However from one man we can have but one life, and you gave us the most valuable and active part of yours, and we are now enjoying and improving its effects. Every sound American, every sincere votary of freedom, loves and honors you, and it was its enemies only and

the votaries of England who saw with cold indifference and even secret displeasure your short-lived return to us. They love none who do not love kings, and kings of England above all others. God bless you under every circumstance, whether still reserved for the good of your native country or destined to leave us in the fulness of time with the consciousness of successful efforts for the establishment of freedom in one country and of all which man could have done for its success in another. The lively sense I entertain of all you have done and deserved from both countries, can be extinguished only with the lamp of life, during which I shall ever be, affectionately and devotedly, yours.

P. S. Monticello, Dec. 14. We have been disappointed in the result of the expedition against Montreal, and again by the fault of a general who refused with his large detachment ashore to meet the main body, according to orders, at the entrance of Lake St. Francis. The expedition was of necessity suspended at that point and the army obliged by the severity of the season to go into winter quarters.

TO JAMES MONROE

MONTICELLO, January 27, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—I now return you the letter of Mr. Carter, which was enclosed in yours of November

30, which was six weeks on its passage to me. The reference to myself which you are both so kind as to propose, I must beg to decline. I could not trust myself with such a decision. For, although I should certainly endeavor to see nothing but the facts of the case, yet even as to these my having been the sole agent through the whole of this business for one of the parties only, and the particular interest which it was thus my duty to feel and espouse, may but too possibly have left impressions unperceived by myself which might prevent my seeing the subject in the original and unbiased view with which an umpire ought to enter into it. I have, therefore, requested Mr. Carter to attend at any time convenient to you and himself, between this and the first of April, until which time I shall be constantly at home. A letter from him, however, of December 2d informed me that you have agreed between you that if your claim proves correct he is to pay you what he got for the land without interest. This amounts to an agreement that the line will stand as marked for Mr. Short, and that whatever it shall take from you shall be paid by him to you. This is certainly perfectly just and it leaves Mr. Short and Mr. Higgenbotham without further interest in the question, and the meeting and proceedings before proposed are in that case become unnecessary. The question in this case remains between yourself and Mr. Carter only to be settled at your leisure.

If you will be so good as to signify this in a line to me, I shall be able to satisfy Mr. Short, and to remove Mr. Higgenbotham's scruples about the payment of his bonds, the first of which is now at hand.

I enclose you a letter from Mr. John Clarke suggesting a mode of keeping the army filled up. Whether it be the best or not I am not to decide. But as it appears to be one of the good ones, I enclose it to you to be suggested where it may serve.

What effect will the disaster of Bonaparte have on the negotiations of Gottenburg? Not a good one I am afraid. The salvo of maritime rights by the other party leaves room to claim whatever the successes of her allies may embolden, or her own greediness stimulate her to grasp at. These successes will enable her to make the ensuing a warm campaign, a warm one for us. Orleans, Pensacola and the Chesapeake, one or the other, or all, are indicated by the number and construction of the boats they are preparing. Their late proceedings, too, in the north seem to breathe the spirit of a *bellum ad internecionem*. It would be well if on some proper occasion the government should either justify or disavow Maclure's proceedings at Newark. As it is possible our negotiations may not obtain what we would wish on the subject of maritime rights, would it not be well that they would stipulate for the benefit of those which should be established by the other belligerents at

the settlement of a general peace. Remember me affectionately to the President. It is long since I have had occasion of writing to him, and I consider it a duty to suppress all idle calls on his attention. Ever affectionately yours.

TO J. CORREA DE SERRA.

MONTICELLO, April 19, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Randolph first, and latterly Mr. Short, have flattered me with the hope that you would pay us a visit with the returning season. I should sooner have pressed this but that my vernal visit to Bedford was approaching, and I wished to fix its precise epoch before I should write to you. I will set out now within a few days and be absent probably all the month of May, and shall be very happy to see you here on my return, or as soon after as may be. It will give me the greatest pleasure, and our whole family joins in the invitation. if, consulting your own convenience and comfort, you would make us as long a stay there as should permit. You know our course of life. To place our friends at their ease we show them that we are so ourselves, by pursuing the necessary vocations of the day and enjoying their company at the usual hours of society.

You will find the summer of Monticello much cooler than that of Philadelphia, equally so with that of the neighborhood of that place, and more

healthy. The amusements it offers are such as you know which, to you, would be principally books and botany. Mr. Randolph's resignation of his military commission will enable him to be an associate in your botanical rambles. Come then, my dear Sir, and be one of our family as long as you can bear a separation from the science of the world.

Since Bonaparte's discomfiture I wish much to see you, to converse with you on the probable effect that will have on the state of the world, of its science, its liberty, its peace and prosperity, and particularly on the situation of our literary friends in Europe. Perceiving the order of nature to be that individual happiness shall be inseparable from the practice of virtue, I am willing to hope it may have ordained that the fall of the wicked shall be the rise of the good.

I can readily fulfill M. Cuvier's request for the skin and skeleton of the mink. I have procured a fine skin and can at any time get the entire subject. The difficulty will be to find a vessel which would receive so large a subject and preserve the spirits in which it would be immersed. But this shall be an article of consultation when you are with us. The cranium of the buffalo cannot be procured but from the other side of the Mississippi; there I can obtain it. But it must go thence by the way of New Orleans, which cannot well be till peace.

I have done for Mr. Warden what you and himself wished as to his commission. Its effect with the government I have not learned. I also suggested to the government your observation on the difference of structure in vessels which the difference of specific gravity between salt and fresh water might render useful.

Accept my thanks for Fossonbroni's book, which, though topographical, presents circumstances of curiosity. I salute you with sincere affection and respect.

TO PETER CARR.

MONTICELLO, September 7, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—On the subject of the academy or college proposed to be established in our neighborhood, I promised the trustees that I would prepare for them a plan, adapted, in the first instance, to our slender funds, but susceptible of being enlarged, either by their own growth or by accession from other quarters.

I have long entertained the hope that this, our native State, would take up the subject of education, and make an establishment, either with or without incorporation into that of William and Mary, where every branch of science, deemed useful at this day, should be taught in its highest degree. With this view, I have lost no occasion of making myself acquainted with the organization of the best semi-

naries in other countries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals, on the subject of the sciences worthy of a place in such an institution. In order to prepare what I have promised our trustees, I have lately revised these several plans with attention; and I am struck with the diversity of arrangement observable in them—no two alike. Yet, I have no doubt that these several arrangements have been the subject of mature reflection, by wise and learned men, who, contemplating local circumstances, have adapted them to the conditions of the section of society for which they have been framed. I am strengthened in this conclusion by an examination of each separately, and a conviction that no one of them, if adopted without change, would be suited to the circumstances and pursuit of our country. The example they set, then, is authority for us to select from their different institutions the materials which are good for us, and, with them, to erect a structure, whose arrangement shall correspond with our own social condition, and shall admit of enlargement in proportion to the encouragement it may merit and receive. As I may not be able to attend the meetings of the trustees, I will make you the depository of my ideas on the subject, which may be corrected, as you proceed, by the better view of others, and adapted, from time to time, to the prospects which open upon us, and which cannot be specifically seen and provided for.

In the first place, we must ascertain with precision the object of our institution, by taking a survey of the general field of science, and marking out the portion we mean to occupy at first, and the ultimate extension of our views beyond that, should we be enabled to render it, in the end, as comprehensive as we would wish.

1. Elementary schools.

It is highly interesting to our country, and it is the duty of its functionaries, to provide that every citizen in it should receive an education proportioned to the condition and pursuits of his life. The mass of our citizens may be divided into two classes—the laboring and the learned. The laboring will need the first grade of education to qualify them for their pursuits and duties; the learned will need it as a foundation for further acquirements. A plan was formerly proposed to the legislature of this State for laying off every county into hundreds or wards of five or six miles square, within each of which should be a school for the education of the children of the ward, wherein they should receive three years' instruction gratis, in reading, writing, arithmetic as far as fractions, the roots and ratios, and geography. The Legislature at one time tried an ineffectual expedient for introducing this plan, which having failed, it is hoped they will some day resume it in a more promising form.

2. General schools.

At the discharging of the pupils from the elementary schools, the two classes separate—those destined for labor will engage in the business of agriculture, or enter into apprenticeships to such handicraft art as may be their choice; their companions, destined to the pursuits of science, will proceed to the college, which will consist, 1st of general schools; and, 2d, of professional schools. The general schools will constitute the second grade of education.

The learned class may still be subdivided into two sections: 1, Those who are destined for learned professions, as means of livelihood; and, 2, The wealthy, who, possessing independent fortunes, may aspire to share in conducting the affairs of the nation, or to live with usefulness and respect in the private ranks of life. Both of these sections will require instruction in all the higher branches of science; the wealthy to qualify them for either public of private life; the professional section will need those branches, especially, which are the basis of their future profession, and a general knowledge of the others, as auxiliary to that, and necessary to their standing and association with the scientific class. All the branches, then, of useful science, ought to be taught in the general schools, to a competent degree, in the first instance. These sciences may be arranged into three departments, not rigorously scientific, indeed, but suf-

ficently so for our purposes. These are, I. Language; II. Mathematics; III. Philosophy.

I. Language. In the first department, I would arrange a distinct science. 1, Languages and History, ancient and modern; 2, Grammar; 3, Belles Lettres; 4, Rhetoric and Oratory; 5, A school for the deaf, dumb and blind. History is here associated with languages, not as a kindred subject, but on the principle of economy, because both may be attained by the same course of reading, if books are selected with that view.

II. Mathematics. In the department of Mathematics, I should give place distinctly: 1, Mathematics pure; 2, Physico-Mathematics; 3, Physic; 4, Chemistry; 5, Natural History, to wit: Mineralogy; 6, Botany; and 7, Zoology; 8, Anatomy; 9, the Theory of Medicine.

III. Philosophy. In the Philosophical department, I should distinguish: 1, Ideology; 2, Ethics; 3, the Law of Nature and Nations; 4, Government; 5, Political Economy.

But, some of these terms being used by different writers, in different degrees of extension, I shall define exactly what I mean to comprehend in each of them.

I. 3. Within the term of Belles Lettres I include poetry and composition generally, and criticism.

II. 1. I consider pure mathematics as the science of, 1, Numbers, and 2, Measure in the

abstract; that of numbers comprehending Arithmetic, Algebra and Fluxions; that of Measure (under the general appellation of Geometry), comprehending Trigonometry, plane and spherical, conic sections, and transcendental curves.

II. 2. Physico-Mathematics treat of physical subjects by the aid of mathematical calculation. These are Mechanics, Statics, Hydrostatics, Hydrodynamics, Navigation, Astronomy, Geography, Optics, Pneumatics, Acoustics.

II. 3. Physics, or Natural Philosophy (not entering the limits of Chemistry) treat of natural substances, their properties, mutual relations and action. They particularly examine the subjects of motion, action, magnetism, eletricity, galvanism, light, meteorology, with an etc. not easily enumerated. These definitions and specifications render immaterial the question whether I use the generic terms in the exact degree of comprehension in which others use them; to be understood is all that is necessary to the present object.

3. Professional Schools.

At the close of this course the students separate; the wealthy retiring, with a sufficient stock of knowledge, to improve themselves to any degree to which their views may lead them, and the professional section to the professional schools, constituting the third grade of education, and teaching the particular sciences which the individuals of this section mean to pursue, with more minuteness

and detail than was within the scope of the general schools for the second grade of instruction. In these professional schools each science is to be taught in the highest degree it has yet attained. They are to be the

1st Department, the fine arts, to wit: Civil Architecture, Gardening, Painting, Sculpture, and the Theory of Music; the

2d Department, Architecture, Military and Naval; Projectiles, Rural Economy (comprehending Agriculture, Horticulture and Veterinary), Technical Philosophy, the Practice of Medicine, Materia Medica, Pharmacy and Surgery. In the

3d Department, Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Law, Municipal and Foreign.

To these professional schools will come those who separated at the close of their first elementary course, to wit:

The lawyer to the law school.

The ecclesiastic to that of theology and ecclesiastical history.

The physican to those of medicine, materia medica, pharmacy and surgery.

The military man to that of military and naval architecture and projectiles.

The agricultor to that of rural economy.

The gentleman, the architect, the pleasure gardener, painter and musician to the school of fine arts.

And to that of technical philosophy will come

the mariner, carpenter, shipwright, pumpmaker, clockmaker, machinist, optician, metallurgist, founder, cutler, druggist, brewer, vintner, distiller, dyer, painter, bleacher, soapmaker, tanner, powdermaker, saltmaker, glassmaker, to learn as much as shall be necessary to pursue their art understandingly, of the sciences of geometry, mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, navigation, astronomy, geography, optics, pneumatics, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, mineralogy and pharmacy.

The school of technical philosophy will differ essentially in its functions from the other professional schools. The others are instituted to ramify and dilate the particular sciences taught in the schools of the second grade on a general scale only. The technical school is to abridge those which were taught there too much *in extenso* for the limited wants of the artificer or practical man. These artificers must be grouped together, according to the particular branch of science in which they need elementary and practical instruction; and a special lecture or lectures should be prepared for each group. And these lectures should be given in the evening, so as not to interrupt the labors of the day. The school, particularly, should be maintained wholly at the public expense, on the same principles with that of the ward schools. Through the whole of the collegiate course, at the hours of recreation on certian days, all the

students should be taught the manual exercise; military evolutions and manœuvers should be under a standing organization as a military corps, and with proper officers to train and command them,

A tabular statement of this distribution of the sciences will place the system of instruction more particularly in view:

1st or Elementary Grade in the Ward Schools.

Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography.

2d, or General Grade.

1. Language and History, ancient and modern.

2. Mathematics, viz: Mathematics pure, Physico-Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Anatomy, Theory of Medicine, Zoology, Botany and Mineralogy.

3. Philosophy, viz: Ideology, and Ethics, Law of Nature and Nations, Government, Political Economy.

3d, or Professional Grades.

Theology and Ecclesiastical History; Law, Municipal and Foreign; Practice of Medicine; Materia Medica and Pharmacy; Surgery; Architecture, Military and Naval, and Projectiles; Technical Philosophy; Rural Economy; Fine Arts.

On this survey of the field of science, I recur to the question, what portion of it we mark out for the occupation of our institution? With the first grade of education we shall have nothing to do. The sciences of the second grade are our first

object; and, to adapt them to our slender beginnings, we must separate them into groups, comprehending many sciences each, and greatly more, in the first instance, than ought to be imposed on, or can be competently conducted by a single professor permanently. They must be subdivided from time to time, as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage to his pupils and ease to himself. For the present, we may group the sciences into professorships, as follows, subject, however, to be changed, according to the qualifications of the persons we may be able to engage.

I. Professorship.

Languages and History, ancient and modern.
Belles-Lettres, Rhetoric and Oratory.

II. Professorship.

Mathematics pure, Physico-Mathematics.
Physics, Anatomy, Medicine, Theory.

III. Professorship.

Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Mineralogy.

IV. Professorship.

Philosophy.

The organization of the branch of the institution which respects its government, police and economy, depending on principles which have no affinity with those of its institution, may be the subject of separate and subsequent consideration.

With this tribute of duty to the board of trustees, accept assurances of my great esteem and consideration.

TO WILLIAM CARUTHERS.

MONTICELLO, December 3, 1814.

SIR,—Your letter of Nov. 22 come to hand yesterday afternoon only, and I sincerely regret it had not been a single day earlier.

A few day after you called on me on your way to the North, Dr. Thornton came and proposed to lease the Natural Bridge for the purpose of establishing a shot manufactory. I told him at once you had applied for it for the same purpose a few days before and must have a preference. He expressed much concern at the disappointment, being then on his way to the lead mines to contract for lead. I at length agreed if he could find a secondary situation on the bank I would lease it to him, but that you must have the Bridge if you chose it on your return as you were not entirely decided when you passed on. I then had occasion for the first time to turn my mind to the principles on which a rent should be fixed, and we agreed that he should pay one hundred and eighty dollars a year for a site.

He went to the mines and contracted for the whole lead which could be furnished there in one year. He called on me again the evening before last and

still pressed for the Bridge. I considered that when you went northwardly you were undecided, that you were to let me know on your return, that you had been back some time and I had heard nothing from you; Dr. Thornton informed me he had spoken with a person in Richmond, who he understood was to have had some concern with you in the enterprise, who told him you had been returned some time, had got no workmen and that it seemed the speculation would not answer and must be abandoned. He told me also it was his purpose to propose to you a part of the concern, if you chose it. Under these circumstances I really supposed the thing abandoned by you, and that I ought not to lose a certain offer. I therefore executed a lease for five years to the Doctor with which he had left me about six hours when your letter came to hand.

This, Sir, is an exact statement of what has passed on this occasion, and I sincerely regret that I did not receive your letter a few hours only sooner, as it was my desire and purpose to have given you a preference to any other applicant whatever, and I shall be gratified if your taking part in a joint concern should be more eligible to you than one in rivalship, and especially after you had been forestalled in the produce of the mines which, of itself excluded every rival. I hope you will find in these circumstances my excuse for acting on the belief that you had abandoned your views

on this object, and that you will accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TO B. S. BARTON.

MONTICELLO, February 26, 1815.

DEAR SIR,—Congress having concluded to replace by my library the one they lost by British vandalism, it is now become their property and of course my duty to collect and put in place whatever stood in the catalogue by which they purchased. This renders it necessary for me to request the return of Persoon's Botanical work of which you asked the use some time ago. I am in hopes you have been able to make it answer the purposes for which you wished its use. If well enveloped in strong paper it will come safely by mail.

I congratulate you on the happy event of peace and the great action of eclat at New Orleans by which the war was closed. I hope the legislature will take care of your city, now become of so much importance by its manufactures. I have come to a resolution myself as I hope every good citizen will, never again to purchase any article of foreign manufacture which can be had of American make be the difference of price what it may. The greatest obstacle I apprehend to our manufactures is our slavish obsequiousness to British fashions. The British stuffs in fashion will be sent to us, and while our workmen are preparing

to imitate them, the fashion will have vanished and our belles and beaux be drawn off to something newer. This is a great evil, but I fear an irremediable one. It is the particular domain in which the fools have usurped dominion over the wise, and as they are in a majority they hold to the fundamental law of the majority. Accept the assurances of my constant esteem and respect.

TO J. CORREA DE SERRA.

MONTICELLO, January 1, 1816.

I learned, my dear Sir, with inexpressible concern on my arrival at home, that my detention in Bedford had lost me the pleasure of your visit here. Having heard nothing from you since our parting on the Natural Bridge, I had supposed your return longer delayed than you had expected, and that even, possibly, your course might be so shaped as to take Poplar Forest in your way. I hungered for your observations on the country you had passed over, and should not probably have been mistaken in your estimate of it. It was additionally unlucky that when you were at Monticello my family did not observe the letters for you lying on my table, some of them had been received a considerable time before, but not knowing your exact trajectory, or in what part of it they might light on you, I was afraid to risk them in the attempt. I now inclose them and add a letter I wrote you under

cover to Mr. Rhea, expecting it would get to Knoxville by mail before your arrival there as it probably did. But Mr. Rhea being unfortunately absent on a journey to the westward, you failed in the receipt of it as in the benefit you might have derived from his friendly attentions. He lately returned it to me with expressions of his regret at having lost the opportunity of being useful to you; and I now enclose it only to show that the failure did not proceed from want of attention in me. Not knowing whether you may have arrived at Philadelphia when this gets there I put the whole under cover to Mr. Vaughan.

The death of Dr. Barton revives my anxiety to recover the MS. journals of Capt. Lewis for the satisfaction of his family, and may at the same time facilitate it. He had promised me sacredly that he would see to its restoration; and as you were so kind as to say you would attend to it on your return to Philadelphia I now earnestly entreat your aid for this object, knowing nothing of what is doing, or intended to be done, as to the publication of the papers respecting the natural history and geography of the country, you will oblige me by any information you can obtain on this subject. The right to these papers is in the government as may be seen by the instructions to Capt. Lewis, they were left in his hands that he might derive to himself the pecuniary benefit of their publication, on the presumption they would certainly be pub-

lished, if that presumption is to fail the government must reclaim them; and it is to put this object into an effective course that I wish for information what is doing, or likely to be done. I know I should have the concurrence of General Clarke in this, were he within the timely reach of consultation, and I shall not fail to advise with him as soon as I can do it understandingly.

I am ashamed to ask whether your observations or information as to the cisterns of Charlestown can facilitate the perfecting of those I have constructed because by some accident which I cannot ascertain, I lost the paper you were so kind as to give me at Dowthwaites. You recollect our situation there; I was shaving, changing my linen, opening and doing up my baggage on the bed when you put that paper into my hands. I thought it certain that I put it into my pocket, but when I got back to Poplar Forest I could not find it. Whether it was lost out of my pocket, or laid and left on the bed I cannot say, but being lost I am thrown again on your goodness to replace it if you can.

What effect will the apparent restoration of the Bourbons have on your movements? Will it tempt your return? I do not see in this a restoration of quiet; on the contrary I consider France as in a more volcanic state than at any preceding time, there must be an explosion and one of the most destructive character. I look forward to

crimes more fierce and pitiless than those which have already distinguished that bloody revolution. These are not scenes, my dear friend, for you to be thrown into. They have no analogies with the tranquillity of your character. True, we cannot offer you the scientific society of Paris, but who can enjoy science, or who think of it in the midst of insurrection, madness and massacre? Besides, you possess all science within yourself; from others you can get nothing new, and the pleasure of communicating it should be greatest where it is most wanting. Stay then with us, become our instructor, help us on in the paths of that science which is wanting to our ripening character. You know how much you are beloved and desired everywhere, welcome everywhere, but nowhere so cordially as at Monticello. Come and make it your home then, the place of rest and tranquillity, from which, as your pre-des-tal, you can make what excursions you please. You will find its summers as moderate as those of Philadelphia, and its winters more so. Had I arrived before your departure I should have pressed your trial of it for the present winter. A comfortable room in a country of fuel, for retirement when you chose it, and a sociable family full of affection and respect for you, when tired of being alone, would have made you forget the suspension of the season for botanical rambling. Turn this subject in your mind, my good friend, and let us have as much

of the benefit of the result as shall be consistent with your own happiness, and in all cases be assured of my warm affection and respect.

TO THOMAS APPLETON.

MONTICELLO, January 14, 1816.

DEAR SIR,—Your letters of August 26 and October 25 have been both received. The condition of my friend Mazzei, both of body and mind, is really afflicting, of the former he had given me some account himself, of the latter I was unapprised, although his very advanced age, with such bodily infirmities, might have given room to expect it. It is unfortunate, too, that persons in that situation are themselves the least and last sensible of it, and injure their affairs and family by not knowing when to give them up. Under the circumstances you state, friendship to himself requires a co-operation with his family in keeping him and them from injury. It is what he himself would have approved in the sounder state of his mind. It is unlucky that a little before the date, and two months before the receipt of your first letter, I had written to him assurances that he should receive a third of his principal, with its interest, in the ensuing spring, and the remaining two-thirds at two annual instalments after. Of course some excuse must be found to him, when, according to the request of his family, I remit the interest only in

the spring without the portion of the principal. This may be found, perhaps, in the expediency of his keeping something as a forlorn hope for himself and his family in a country where all is secure, until the affairs of Europe are more settled, or in some motives of inconvenience to myself which his friendship may admit. I will remit a year's interest, therefore, in the spring through your hands, and you will act on it for him and his family, as you and they will find most practicable and for the best. In this, and whatever else may be best for his family, I beg you to assure them they may rely on me, conscious that in serving them I shall do for him what I would expect my friends to do for me in a like situation.

I wish it were in my power to hold up to Mr. Bartholini a prospect of employment and emolument here worthy of his talent. Our early and prolific marriages, and the justice of our laws dividing the property of the parents equally among all the children, place the body of our people in ease and happiness in the mass but occasion rare instances of great individual wealth. You know kow unusual these instances are and how few even among them have a taste for the fine arts. There is at this time an Italian artist of the name of Andiriani—or Franzioni, I do not know which —lately gone from this country to Florence, Rome, etc., in quest of artists to assist him in repairing the Capitol at Washington, burnt by the British.

He is one of two who were procured by Mr. Mazzei and forwarded over by yourself about eight or ten years ago. His object there at present is to obtain architects only, and I name him merely because, having resided here so long, he could be able to give to Mr. Bartolini information of the country the best adapted to his views.

I note what you say of the bust of General Washington by Ciracchi and those of Columbus and Vespucius, but I am done with dealing in marble. An humble copy in plaster of Ciracchi's Washington would be my limit in that way. Perhaps you can tell me what such an one would cost, I may include it in some future remittance.

For the present I confine myself to the physical want of some good Montepulciano; and your friendship has theretofore supplied me with that which was so good that I naturally address my want to you. In your letter of May 1, '05, you mention that what you then sent me was produced on grounds formerly belonging to the order of Jesuits and sold for the benefit of the government in 1773, at the time that that institution was abolished. I hope it has preserved its reputation and the quality of its wines. I send this letter to my friend John Vaughan of Philadelphia, and inclose with it to him fifty dollars to be remitted to you, and I pray you to send me its amount in Montepulciano in black bottles, well corked and cemented, and in strong boxes, addressed to the

collector of any port from Boston to the Chesapeake, to which the first opportunity occurs. Norfolk and Richmond being always to be preferred if a conveyance equally early offers. But the warm season will be so fast advancing when you receive this that no time will be to be lost. Perhaps I may trouble you annually to about the same amount, this being a very favorite wine, and habit having rendered the light and high flowered wines a necessity of life with me. I salute you with assurances of my constant esteem and respect.

TO P. S. DUPONCEAU.

MONTICELLO, January 22, 1816.

DEAR SIR,—I have been for the last five months absent from home, which must apologize for this very tardy acknowledgment of your favor of November 14. I learn with much satisfaction the enlargement by the Philosophical Society of the scope of their institution by the establishment of a standing committee for history, the moral sciences and general literature. I have always thought that we were too much confined in practice to the natural and mathematical departments. This committee will become a depository for many original MS., many loose sheets of no use by themselves and in the hands of the holders, but of great value when brought into a general depot open to

the use of the future historian or literary inquirer. I shall be very happy to contribute to the usefulness of your establishment by anything in my possession or within the reach of my endeavors, and I begin by inclosing you a geographical and statistical account in MS. of the Creek or Muscogee Indians and Country as it was in the years of '98 and '99. This was written by Colonel Hawkins who has lived among them as agent now upwards of twenty years. Besides a general interspersion of observations on the state of society, manners and opinion among them, there is in the latter part an interesting account of their government and ceremonies, civil and religious, the more valuable as we have so little information of the civil regimen of the Indian nations. I think it probable I may find other things on my shelves, or among my papers worth preserving with you, and will with pleasure forward them from time to time as I lay my hands on them.

Of the MS. journal of the Commissioners of 1728 on the North Carolina boundary, I cannot give you positive information. It has always been understood that the Westover family possessed such a journal written by their ancestor, Dr. Byrd, who was one of the Commissioners, was the father of the late Colonel William Byrd, a member of our council, who died soon after the beginning of our revolution. Dr. Byrd was the founder of the Westover library and of the princely estate which

was dissipated by his son, and has left behind him the reputation of being a man of learning and understanding. Within these two or three years I was offered the reading of this MS. by some one whom I cannot now recollect, but a connection of the Westover family. I will make enquiry into this and communicate to you the result. Accept the assurance of my great respect and esteem.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

MONTICELLO, April 11, 1816.

DEAR SIR,—Your last favor is received just as I am setting out for a possession ninety miles southwardly, from whence I shall not return until the first week of the ensuing month. I hasten, therefore, to drop you a line of adieu. I sincerely rejoice that you are going to France. I do not think with you that nothing can be done there. Louis XVIII is a fool and a bigot, but bating a little duplicity he is honest and means well. He cannot but feel the heavy hand of his masters, and that it is England which presses it and vaunts the having had the glory of effecting their humiliation. His ministers, too, although ultra-royalists, must feel as Frenchmen, although our government is an eyesore to them, the pride and pressure of England is more present to their feelings, and they must be sensible that having

a common enemy, an intimate connection with us must be of value to them. England hates us, dreads us, and yet is silly enough to keep us under constant irritation instead of making us her friends. She will use all her sway over the French Government to obstruct our commerce with them, and it is exactly there you can act with effect by keeping that government informed of the truth in opposition to the lies of England.

I thank you for your attention to my request as to Mr. Terril. You judge rightly that I have no acquaintances left in France. Some were guillotined, some fled, some died, some are exiled and I know of nobody but Lafayette. I correspond with his connection M. Destutt Tracy, the ablest writer in France in the moral line. Your acquaintance with M. de Lafayette will of course bring you to that of M. Tracy. Will you permit me to tell you a long story and to vindicate me in conversation to both those friends before whom it is impossible, but that I must stand in need of it.

M. Tracy has written the best work on political economy which has ever appeared, he has established its principles more demonstratively than has been done before, and in the compass of one-third of even M. Say's work. He feared to print it in France and sent it to me to have it translated and printed here. I immediately proposed it to Daune who engaged to have it done. After putting me off from six months to six months he at length

(after two or three years delay) wrote me that he had had it translated but was not able to print it. I got from him the original and the translation and proposed the publishing of it to Milligan of Georgetown, promising to revise the translation if he would undertake it. He agreed to it, and when I came to look into the translation it had been done by one who understood neither French nor English, and I then rejoiced that Duane had not published it; it would have been horrid. I worked on it four or five hours a day for three months comparing word by word with the original, and, although I have made it a strictly faithful translation, yet it is without style, *le premier jet* was such as to render that impossible. I sent the whole to Milligan about ten days ago and he had informed me his type and everything was ready to begin it. I have not the courage to write to M. Tracy until I can send him a copy of the book, and were I to write to M. Lafayette and be silent on this subject they would conclude I had abandoned it, but in truth I have never ceased to urge it, indeed, I take great interest in its publication, its brevity will recommend it to our countrymen, and its logic set their minds to rights as to principles and you know there in no science on which they are so little informed. Now can you remember all this, and will you be so good as to place me erect again before my friends by a verbal explanation?

God bless you and give you a safe and pleasant voyage and a safe return to us in the fullness of time.

I trouble you with two letters to Mr. Terril to be forwarded to Geneva.

TO J. F. DUMOULIN.

MONTICELLO, May 7, 1816.

SIR,—Your favor of April 12 is just received, and with it the two copies of your treatise on Naturalization and Allegiance, the one of which has been delivered as you requested to Colonel Randolph and for the other be pleased to accept my thanks. From a cursory view I promise myself great pleasure in reading it, as well from its logic as its learning on these subjects. We cannot but think alike, and I permit myself to doubt whether there is a man in the world who thinks otherwise; provided he has thought at all on the subject, has turned inwardly on himself and ascertained whether he has not there found the same innate feeling of right to live on the outside of an artificial geographical line as he has to live within it; whether he finds there any stronger sentiment of right to use his own faculties at all than of that to use them in whatever place he can do it to the greatest promotion of his own happiness; whether he feels any obligation to die by disease or famine in one country rather than go to another where he can live?

The family accepts with thankfulness the kind expression of your remembrance of them, and joins me in assuring you that we consider ourselves as the debtors for the visit you did us the favor to make the last autumn, and in assurance of great esteem and respect.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

MONTICELLO, May 17, 1816.

I received, my dear friend, yesterday evening only, your letter of January 21, and this day I write to a bookseller in Philadelphia to send immediately for you two copies of the Anonymous Review of Montesquieu, under cover to Mr. Gallatin, if he be not gone. In a letter to him lately I begged of him to say to yourself and M. T. that I had not the courage to write to either of you until I could send a copy of the work on political economy, which I have been so long endeavoring to get printed.

I will state to you, however, the simple fact. I proposed to the same editor at Philadelphia to translate and print this, who had done the former work; he undertook it. After time enough had elapsed, as I thought, to have heard of its publication, I wrote to ask when it would appear? At such a time it was answered. It is needless to repeat to you the subsequent reiterated application, excuses and promises, they ended finally in a declaration

that the work was translated but that he could not print it. I then desired a return of the work; it was sent to me with the translation. I then engaged a person in Washington to print it, offering if he would, to revise the translation myself. He has undertaken it, but when I came to look into the translation, I found it such as had never been seen. It had been done by a person who understood neither French nor English. I entered on the corrections, and had got too far into it before I became sensible it would have been shorter for me to have translated it anew. I spent five hours a day on it for between two and three months. I was able at length to make it faithful to the text but not elegant, *le premier jet* rendered that impossible. It has been in the hands of the editor about a month, but as he is to send me the proof sheets for correction successively as they come out and by mail, it will employ the summer and autumn probably.

Nothing has been spared which depended on me and had I resided where the publication was undertaken I could, by daily attention, have soon seen into the fact and cause of delay and have remedied them. But at the distance of 300 miles from Philadelphia, unable to get information but such as the undertaker chose to give, and through the public mail, I was quite at his mercy. Still I shall think my trouble and vexation well requited by possessing my countrymen of such a work.

Its principles are so profound, so logically demonstrated and so briefly expressed that it must become the elementary book of the world for the science of political economy, as the other will be of that of government. The very metaphysical character of the prefatory pieces may deter some readers not in the habit of abstract contemplation, while it will be highly satisfactory to those which are. The indications, however, are sufficient which show the former where the part of the work begins which will be interesting to them and levelled to comprehensions less exercised in speculations of this character.

In this plain statement I hope yourself and your friend will find an apology for the delays which have taken place in sending you this work. With respect to the Commentary on Montesquieu there is a fact of some note. You are aware that the Edinburgh Review is considered as the ablest work of that kind which has ever been published. Means were taken to place this work in the hands of the editor but while the work itself and the principles of his review permitted him to say nothing against it, its being an American publication was ground enough to avoid saying anything in its favor. They have, therefore, not even mentioned it in their monthly catalogue of new publications. Such are the feelings of that country toward us.

Uncertain whether Mr. Gallatin is yet gone, and of course whether this letter will reach him

in time, or go by some other conveyance, it is most prudent to say little in politics. That the violations of all rights committed on the continent by France under the directions of Bonaparte, as well as those on the ocean by England, merited a proper measure of retaliation and punishment, I imagine yourselves are sensible. On England it is yet to come, and on France had it proceeded but a reasonable length, justice would not have condemned it, but it has passed that term. The continuation of it becomes aggression, and the allies have gone on to commit equal violations on independent nations with those of Bonaparte. If there were another world to do it, the same crusade ought now to be undertaken against them which they enlisted against France. Still I believe the loss of the battle of Waterloo was the salvation of France. Had Bonaparte obtained the victory, his talents, his egoism and destitution of all moral principle would have rivetted a military despotism on your necks. In your present situation you will affect a constitution in which the will of the nation shall have an organized control over the actions of its government, and its citizens a regular protection against its oppressions.

I dare add no more, but my prayers for the events, and that your steady pursuits of this object may be rewarded by the happiness of your seeing it realized before you sing your *nunc dimittis*.

TO FRANCIS EPPES.

MONTICELLO, May 21, 1816.

I send you, my dear Francis, a Greek grammar, the best I know for the use of schools. It is the one most generally used in the United States. I expect you will begin it soon after your arrival at the New London academy. You might, while at home, amuse yourself with learning the letters and spelling and reading the Greek words, so that you may not be stopped by that when Mr. Mitchell puts you into the grammar.

I think you will like him and old Mr. and Mrs. Dehavens, from the character I have of them. I am sure Mr. Mitchell will do everything for you he can, and I have no fear that you will not do full justice to his instruction. But while you endeavor, by a good store of learning to prepare yourself to become an useful and distinguished member of your country, you must remember that this can never be without uniting merit with your learning. Honesty, disinterestedness and good nature are indispensable to procure the esteem and confidence of those with whom we live, and on whose esteem our happiness depends. Never suffer a thought to be harbored in your mind which you would not avow openly. When tempted to do anything in secret ask yourself if you would do it in public. If you would not be sure it is wrong. In little disputes with your companions, give way

rather than insist on trifles. For their love and the approbation of others will be worth more to you than the trifle in dispute. Above all things, and at all times, practice yourself in good humor. Whenever you feel a warmth of temper rising check it at once, and suppress it, recollecting it will make you unhappy within yourself and disliked by others. Nothing gives one person so great advantage over another as to remain always cool and unruffled under all circumstances. Think of these things, practice them, and you will be rewarded by the love and confidence of the world.

I have some expectation of being at Poplar Forest the third week of June, when I hope I shall see you going on cleverly and already beloved by your tutor, curators and companions, as you are by, yours affectionately.

TO JAMES BARBOUR.

MONTICELLO, January 19, 1817.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 9th is received by our last mail. I have been very long and intimately acquainted with Colonel Trumbull, have had the best opportunity of knowing him thoroughly and can therefore bear witness of my own knowledge to his high degree of worth as a man. For his merit as a painter I can quote higher authorities, and assure you that on the continent of Europe, when I was there, he was considered as

superior to West. Baron Grimm, who was the oracle of taste at Paris, in sculpture, painting and the other fine arts generally, gave him the decided preference, and came often to my house in Paris while Colonel Trumbull was with me, to see his paintings. I pretend not to be a connoisseur in the art myself, but comparing him with others of that day I thought him superior to any historical painter of the time except David. It is in the historical line only that I am acquainted with his painting. In England, West was preferred by the king to whom all others followed suit.

The subjects on which Colonel Trumbull has employed his pencil are honorable to us, and it would be extremely desirable that they should be retained in this country as monuments of the taste as well as of the great revolutionary scene of our country.

You know how averse I am to be quoted on any occasion, yet as far as my testimony to Colonel Trumbull's worth can be of any avail by using it in private circles you are entirely free to do so as a just tribute to truth and worth. Accept my friendly and respectful salutations.

TO JAMES MONROE.

MONTICELLO, April 8, 1817.

DEAR SIR,—I shall not waste your time in idle congratulations. You know my joy on the commitment of the helm of our Government to your hands.

I promised you when I should have received and tried the wines I had ordered from France and Italy to give you a note of the kinds which I should think worthy of your procurement; and this being the season for ordering them, so that they may come in the mild temperature of autumn, I now fulfil my promise.

They are the following:

Vin blanc liquoureux d'Hermitage de M. Jourdan à Tanis. This costs about eighty-two and a half cents a bottle put on shipboard.

Vin de Ledarion (In Languedoc) something of the port character but higher flavored, more delicate, less rough. I do not know its price, but probably about twenty-five cents a bottle.

Vin de Roussillon. The best is that of Perpignan or Rives alte of the crop of M. Durand. It costs seventy-two cents a gallon, bears bringing in a cask. If put into bottles there it costs eleven cents a bottle more than if bottled here by an inexplicable and pernicious arrangement of our tariff.

Vin de Nice. The crop called Bellet, of Mr. Sasterno, is the best. This is the most elegant every-day wine in the world and costs thirty-one cents the bottle. Not much being made it is little known at the general markets.

Mr. Cathalan of Marseilles is the best channel for getting the first three of these wines and a good one for the *Nice*, being in their neighborhood and knowing well who makes the crops of best quality.

The *Nice* being a wine foreign to France occasions some troublesome forms. If you could get that direct from Sasterno himself at Nice, it would be better. And, by the bye, he is very anxious for the appointment of consul for the United States at that place. I knew his father well, one of the most respectable merchants and men of the place. I hear a good character of the son, who has succeeded to his business. He understands English well, having passed some time in a counting house in London for improvement. I believe we have not many vessels going to that port annually and yet as the appointment brings no expense to the United States, and is sometimes salutary to our merchants and seamen, I see no objection to naming one there.

There is still another wine to be named to you, which is the wine of Florence called *Montepulciano*, with which Mr. Appleton can best furnish you. There is a particular very best crop of it known to him and which he has usually sent to me. This costs twenty-five cents per bottle. He knows, too, from experience how to have it so bottled and packed as to ensure its bearing the passage which in the ordinary way it does not. I have imported it through him annually ten or twelve years and do not think I have lost one bottle in one hundred.

I salute you with all my wishes for a prosperous and splendid voyage over the ocean on which you are embarked, and with sincere prayers for the continuance of your life and health.

TO JOSEPH DELAPLAINE.

MONTICELLO, April 12, 1817.

DEAR SIR,—My repugnance is so invincible to be saying anything of my own history as if worthy to occupy the public attention that I have suffered your letter of March 17, but not received till March 28, to lie thus long without resolution enough to take it up. I indulged myself at some length on a former occasion because it was to repel a calumny still sometimes repeated after the death of its numerous brethren, by which a party at one time thought they could vote me down, deeming even science itself as well as my affection for it a fit object of ridicule and a disqualification for the affairs of government. I still think that many of the objects of our inquiry are too minute for public notice. The number of names and ages of my children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, etc., would produce fatigue and disgust to your readers of which I would be an unwilling instrument, it will certainly be enough to say that from one daughter living and another deceased, I have a numerous family of grandchildren and an increasing one of great-grandchildren.

I was married on New Year's day of 1772, and Mrs. J. died in the autumn of 1782. I was educated at William and Mary College, in Williamsburg. I read Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and English of course, with something of its radics,

the Anglo-Saxon. I became a member of the legislature of Virginia in 1769 at the accession of Lord Botetourt to our government. I could not readily make a statement of the literary societies of which I am a member, they are many and would be long to enumerate and would savor too much of vanity and pedantry. Would it not be better to say merely that I am a member of many literary societies in Europe and America.

Your statements of the corrections of the Declaration of Independence by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams are neither of them at all exact. I should think it better to say generally that the rough draft was communicated to those two gentlemen, who each of them made two or three short and verbal alterations only, but even this is laying more stress on mere composition than it merits, for that alone was mine. The sentiments were of all America. I already possess a portrait of Mr. Adams, done by our countryman Brown when we were both in England, and have no occasion, therefore, for the copy you propose to me. Accept my apologies for not going more fully into the minutiæ of your letter. With my friendly and respectful salutations.

TO JEAN BAPTISTE SAY.

MONTICELLO, May 14, 1817.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter of June 15, 1814, came to my hands on the 9th of December following, and that of August 22d of the same year was received on the 11th of May, '15. In the meantime I had answered the former on the 2d of March and had gone fully into all details in the line of information to which your enquiries had led, stating everything on the subject of prices, articles of culture, climate, society, etc., which I thought would aid your determination on the question of removal. This letter was committed to the care of a Mr. Ticknor, a young gentleman of Boston, who was on the point of embarking for France; but before actual embarkation peace taking place with England, he went first to that country and thence to Gottingen where I expect he has continued to about this time. How this letter was conveyed to you, or whether you ever received it, I am uninformed, but a fear that it might have miscarried has led me to this recapitulation that in that case you might know the truth and be assured I was incapable of omitting to comply with your request of information on points so interesting to you.

The only changes since occurring as to any particulars of that information has been in our circulating medium, which, from the wretched state it was then in has become much worse by the great

increase of bank paper in circulation and consequent advance of normal prices; and that advance of such uncertainty as that nothing can now be estimated in that medium. I add this to the information formerly given on the possibility that you may still contemplate a removal, and can assure you that your arrival here would be hailed with universal welcome and by none with more than by myself.

I rejoice that the book, of which you were so kind as to send me a copy, is becoming known here, begins to be much read, and really see in that circumstance chiefly a prospect, however distant, that our rulers will come in time to understand the subject and to apply the remedy which is in their power only. A shorter work of Mr. Tracy's on the same subject is in course of publication, and will co-operate with yours to the same end.

For the conveyance of this letter I avail myself of the kindness of its bearer, Mr. Lyman, a young gentleman of Boston who proposes to visit France for his health. He is not personally known to me; but is much recommended on the part of Mr. Adams, former President of the United States. He speaks of him as a young man of great worth and promise and whose ardor in pursuit of science has produced that derangement of health which occasions his visit to Europe. In proposing to him to be the bearer of a letter to you he naturally wished an introduction to a character of such an advantageous standing in the literary world, and

to place the honor of being made known to you among the rewards of his voyage.

Be so good then as to receive him into your notice, and to indulge a desire on his part produced by motives of veneration for your character, and accept the assurances of my great respect and esteem.

TO JOSEPH C. CABELL.

MONTICELLO, October 24, 18[illegible]7.

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 14th came to hand two days ago. Soon after you left us, I received the pamphlet you were so kind as to have directed to me, containing several papers on the establishment of a system of education.

A serious perusal of the bill for that purpose convinced me that unless something less extravagant could be devised the whole undertaking must fail. The primary schools alone on that plan would exhaust the whole funds, the colleges as much more, and an university would never come into question. However slow and painful the operation of writing is become from a stiffening wrist, and however deadly my aversion to the writing-table, I determined to try whether I could not contrive a plan more within the compass of our funds. I send you the result brought into a single bill lest by bringing it on by detachment some of the parts might be lost.

You ask if we should not associate with it the petty academies and colleges spread over the State in order to engage their interest? Why should we? For their funds? They have none. Scarcely any of them have funds to keep their buildings in repair. They depend on what they get from their students. Aggregated to our regular system they would make it like the image of brass and clay substances which never amalgamate. They would only embarrass and render our colleges impracticable. I have always found it best never to permit a rational plan to be marred by botching. You would lose on the vote more honest friends than you would reconcile dishonest enemies, under which term I include those who would sacrifice the public good to a local interest. However, take it and make of it what you can if worth anything. Communicate it also to Mr. Rives if you please. I meddle no more with it. There is a time to retire from labor and that time is come with me. It is a duty, as well as the strongest of my desires, to relinquish to younger hands the government of our bark and resign myself as I do willingly to their care.

Our Central College gives me more employment than I am equal to. The dilatoriness of the workmen gives me constant trouble. It has already brought into doubt the completion this year of the building begun, which obliges me to be with them every other day. I follow it up from a sense of the impression which will be made

on the legislature by the prospect of its immediate operation. The walls should be done by our next court, but they will not, by a great deal. We hope to see you then. *En attendant*, I salute you with friendship and respect.

P. S. I drew a plan of a college in its dormitories, such as the bill calls for, to demonstrate that it will not cost more than the sum allotted.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD).

MONTICELLO, January 5, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—The death of General Kosciusko, which I see announced in the papers in a form leaving no doubt of its truth, makes it a duty in me to trouble you with this letter.

He possessed, as you know, a considerable sum of money in our funds. When he left the United States in 1790 he authorized me, by a power of attorney, to superintend the transaction of his business here which has accordingly been done through the agency of Mr. Barnes, under my direction and sanction. But he, at the same time, left with me an autograph will making an eleemosinary disposition of his property, of which will he named me executor. Some doubts arise in my mind as to the court in which this will must be proved and myself qualified to execute it. As it

is essential that this should be in a court which the government will think of complete cognizance of the case, to authorize their placing the money under the trust, I have taken the liberty of stating the case to the Attorney-General, who is particularly acquainted with our laws, by whose advice and your sanction I wish to be governed. The hope that this probate and qualification in our state courts will be sufficient is nourished by me merely in consideration of the difficulty with which I could take a long journey.

Although General Kosciusko in his last letter to me of September 15 uses expressions which show that his purpose had not been changed, yet I shall withhold proving the will until I shall hear particulars from the friends in his confidence who were probably about him at the time of his death, and who will doubtless inform me of the event and of any particulars which ought to be known.

I pray you to be assured of my highest esteem and consideration.

TO GENERAL JOHN ARMSTRONG.

MONTICELLO, January 17, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 4th was received on the 12th. General Kosciusko on leaving the United States in 1798 left in my hands an autograph will disposing of his property in the United States to a charitable purpose, of which will he

made me executor. His residence under one government, his property in another and his executor in a third induced me to write to the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney-General of the United States to know where the probate of the will should be to authorize their placing the money in the public funds under its directions. I expect their answer but am not decided to undertake the trust; its execution will call for a great many minute and continued attentions and many more years to complete than I have to live. However, in whatever hands the administration may be I presume the claim of your son will meet with no difficulty or delay, the money being ready whenever an authority shall be complete for receiving and paying it, and of this as soon as determined I will advise you, being happy in every occasion of assuring you, of my continued affection and respect.

TO COUNT DUGNANI

(PAPAL NUNCIO).

MONTICELLO, February 14, 1818.

MY DEAR CARDINAL,—In March, 1815, I took the liberty of addressing a letter to you by Dr. Barton, a member of our Philosophical Society, distinguished for his science, who visited Europe for his health and expected to go as far as Rome. I was happy in the opportunity he furnished me of presenting myself to your recollection and of

renewing to you the assurances of the sentiments of friendship and respect engraved on my mind during our residence at Paris, and of their cordial continuance. But I doubt whether Dr. Barton reached Rome, as the aggravation of his malady induced an early return which was followed immediately by his death.

A few days ago I received a letter from M. Marechal, Archbishop of Baltimore, in which he informs me that besides your friendly expressions toward me on his leaving Paris some years ago, you had in a letter of September last made kind enquiries after myself and my family. I feel a pleasure as well as a duty in answering these myself. Since my retirement in 1809 from all public duties I have enjoyed uninterrupted good health and retain as much activity of body and mind as, at the age of 74, we have a right to expect. My eldest daughter, who had the honor of being known to you in Paris, lives also and in good health and has blessed me with many grandchildren, and some of these have commenced another generation.

My last information from yourself directly was by the return of two young Americans educated at Rome who bore witness to your friendly patronage of them, and brought me from you the two exquisite engravings of Belisarius and Moncada, *chef d'oeuvres* of that art, which, placed among the ornaments of my house, renew to me daily the memory of your friendship.

During the terrible revolutions of Europe I felt great anxiety for you, and have never yet learnt with certainty how far they affected you. Your letter to the Archbishop being from Rome and so late as September makes me hope that all is well, and thanks be to God the tiger who revelled so long in the blood and spoils of Europe is at length, like another Prometheus, chained to his rock, where the vulture of remorse for his crimes will be preying on his vitals and in like manner without consuming them. Having been, like him, intrusted with the happiness of my country, I feel the blessing of resembling him in no other point. I have not caused the death of five or ten millions of human beings, the devastation of other countries, the depopulation of my own, the exhaustion of all its resources, the destruction of its liberties, nor its foreign subjugation. All this he has done to render more illustrious the atrocities perpetrated for illustrating himself and his family with plundered diadems and sceptres. On the contrary, I have the consolation to reflect that during the period of my administration not a drop of the blood of a single fellow citizen was shed by the sword of war or of the law, and that after cherishing for eight years their peace and prosperity I laid down their trust of my own accord and in the midst of their blessings and importunities to continue in it. But, beginning to be sensible of the effect of age, I feared that its infirmities might injure their

interests and believed the example would be salutary against inveteration in office, and I now enjoy in retirement the comfort of their good will and of a conscience calm and without reproach. I have thus, my dear Cardinal, given you the information you have requested, and nothing but that request could have justified so much egoism. In return you cannot gratify me so much as by saying as much to me of yourself in whose welfare I take cordial interest.

Before closing my letter I will take the liberty of requesting that if Mr. George Ticknor, a young American, should be yet at Rome, as I think is possible, you will do me the favor of extending to him your countenance and protection while there. His science, his talents, the worth and correctness of his character, place him among the ornaments and the hopes of our country; and my particular friendship for him will add, I trust, a motive the more for your notice of him. I should have given him a letter to you but that having been three years on his travels through Europe I could not with certainty convey it to him. He was to pass this present winter in Italy chiefly and at Rome, and I fear indeed, he may have left it before he can receive this proof of my attention to him, or of your friendship to me. In every event, however, accept, my dear Cardinal, the assurance of my constant and affectionate friendship and the homage of my high consideration.

TO ALBERT GALLATIN.

MONTICELLO, February 15, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of putting under the protection of your cover a letter to Cardinal Dugnani at Rome, in the hope that through the Nuncio resident at Paris it may find a sure conveyance to him. In return for this trouble I wish I could give you any news which would interest you, but withdrawn entirely from all attention to public affairs, I neither know nor enquire what Congress are doing. You will probably know this better than myself from the newspapers, which I have ceased to read in a great degree. A single measure in my own State has interested me much. Our legislature some time ago appropriated a fund of a million and a half dollars to a system of general education. After two or three projects proposed and put by I ventured to offer one which, although not adopted, is printed and published for general consideration to be taken up at the next session. It provides an elementary school in every neighborhood of fifty or sixty families, a college for the languages, mensuration, navigation and geography within a day's ride of every man's house, and a central university of the sciences for the whole State of eight, ten or twelve professors. But it has to encounter ignorance, malice, egoism, fanaticism, religious, political and local perversities.

In one piece of general information which I am sure will give you pleasure I can add mine to the testimony of our other correspondents. Federalism is substantially defunct. Opposition to the war, the Hartford Convention, the peace of Ghent, and the battle of Orleans, have revolted the body of the people who called themselves federalists against their leaders, and these have sunk into insignificance or acquiescence under the government. The most signal triumph is in Connecticut where it was least and last expected. As some tub, however, must always be thrown out to the whale, and a religious one is fittest to recall the priesthood within their proper limits, the questions of unity and trinity are now set afloat in the Eastern States, and are occupying there all the vehemence of the genius *irratabile ratum*. This is food for the fools, amusement to the wise and quiet to the patriot, while the light of the age will prevent danger from the flame it kindles. The contest, too, must issue in triumph of common sense over the unintelligible jargon of Gothic fanaticism. Ever and affectionately yours.

TO JACOB BIGELOW.

MONTICELLO, April 11, 1818

I thank you, Sir, for the comparative statement of the climates of the several States as deduced from observations on the flowering of trees in the

same year. It presents a valuable view and one which it is much to be desired could be extended through a longer period of years and embrace a greater number of those circumstances which indicate climate.

I closed the year before last a seven years' course of observations intended to characterize the climate of this State, which though very various in its various parts may be considered as reduced to a mean at this place nearly central to the whole. In return for your favor I transcribe the heads of observation which I thought requisite and some of the general results with the assurance of my high respect and esteem.

1. The greatest and least height of the thermometer every day.

2. The greatest, least and mean height of the thermometer in every month, with the mean of each year and the mean of the seven years which last was 55½°.

3. The minimum and maximum of the whole term, to wit: 5½° and 94½°.

4. The number of freezing nights in a winter (50) and of freezing days (10).

5. How long fires are necessary in our apartments, to wit: 4 months constant, and on evening and morning of month before and after that time.

6. The earliest frost in autumn Oct. 7–26, and the latest in spring Mar. 19–May 1.

7. The earliest ice in autumn Oct. 24–Nov. 15, and latest in spring Mar. 8–Apr. 10.

8. The quantity of water falling in a year, average 47.218.

9. The number of rains in the year, 89.

10. The number of fair days average 5 to the week.

11. The number of snow 22½ inches average covers the ground 22 days.

12. The number of days each wind prevailed through the year.

13. The flowering of plants, ripening of their fruit and coming to table of the products of the garden, arrival of birds, insects, etc.

14. The temperature of the springs 54½°, the winter air being at 75°.

15. The latitude of the place of observation (Monticello) 37° 57′ 51″–26″.

Extract from Number 13:

The peach blossoms Mar. 9–Apr. 4.
The tick appears Mar. 15–Apr. 2.
The house martin Mar. 18–Apr. 9.
Asparagus come to table Mar. 23–Apr. 14.
The lilac blooms Apr. 1–Apr. 28.
The red bud blooms Apr. 2–19.
The whip-poor-will is heard Apr. 2–21.
The dogwood blossoms Apr. 3–22.
The locust blossoms Apr. 25–May 17.
Garden pea comes to table (unforced) May 3–25.
Strawberries ripe May 3–25.
Fireflies appear May 8.
Cherries ripe May 18–25.
Wheat harvest begins June 21–29.
Cucumbers at table (unforced) June 22–25.
Peaches ripe July 7–21.
Katydids or sawyers heard July 14–20.

	Average of Every Month.		Prevalence of the several winds stated in days of year.	
	Therm.	Rain.		
Jan.	36	3.66		
Feb.	40	3.47	N.	61
Mar.	46	2.92	N. E.	29
Apr.	56½	3.59	E.	15
May	61½	5.60	S. E.	16
June	72	3.47	S.	60
July	75	6.56	S. W.	66
Aug.	73	4.06	W.	47
Sept.	67	5.96	N. W.	71
Oct.	57	3.40		
Nov.	45½	2.92		365
Dec.	37	1.56		

TO CHARLES JARED INGERSOLL.

MONTICELLO, July 20, 1818.

SIR,—On my return the day before yesterday after a long absence from this place, I found here your favor of July 4 with the two Chinese works from Mr. Wilcox which accompanied it. I pray you to accept my thanks for the trouble you have taken in forwarding them, and if you are in correspondence with Mr. Wilcox and should have other occasion to write to him I must request you to express to him my sense of his kind attention in sending me these works.

They are real curiosities and give us a better idea of the state of science in China than the relations of travellers have effected. It is surely impossible that they can make much progress with characters so complicated, so voluminous and inadequate as these are. It must take a life to learn the characters only and then their expression of ideas must be very imperfect. I imagine that some fortuitous circumstance will some day call their attention to the simple alphabets of Europe, which with proper improvements may be made to express the sounds of their language as well as of others, and that then they may enter on the field of science. I think missionaries to instruct them in our alphabets would be more likely to take good effect and lead them to the object of our religious missionaries than an abrupt introduction of new doctrines for

which their minds are in no wise prepared. With my thanks be pleased to accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TO JOSEPH MILLIGAN.

MONTICELLO, October 25, 1818.

SIR,—I now return you, according to promise, the translation of M. Destutt Tracy's Treatise on Political Economy, which I have carefully revised and corrected. The numerous corrections of sense in the translation have necessarily destroyed uniformity of style, so that all I may say on that subject is that the sense of the author is everywhere now faithfully expressed. It would be difficult to do justice, in any translation, to the style of the original, in which no word is unnecessary, no word can be changed for the better, and severity of logic results in that brevity to which we wish all science reduced. The merit of this work will, I hope, place it in the hands of every reader in our country. By diffusing sound principles of Political Economy, it will protect the public industry from the parasite institutions now consuming it, and lead us to that just and regular distribution of the public burdens from which we have sometimes strayed. It goes forth, therefore, with my hearty prayers that while the Review of Montesquieu, by the same author, is made with us the elementary book of instruction in the principles of civil govern-

ment, so the present work may be in the particular branch of Political Economy.

TO NATHANIEL BOWDITCH.

MONTICELLO, October 26, 1818.

DEAR SIR,—I have for some time owed you a letter of thanks for your learned pamphlet on Dr. Stewart's formula for obtaining the sun's distance from the motion of the moon's apsides, a work, however, much above my mathematical stature. This delay has proceeded from a desire to address you on an interest much nearer home, and on the subject of which I must make a long story.

On a private subscription of about fifty or sixty thousand dollars we began the establishment of what we called the Central College, about a mile from the village of Charlottesville and four miles from this place, and have made some progress in the buildings. The legislature at their last session took up the subject and passed an act establishing an University, endowing it for the present with an annuity of fifteen thousand dollars and directing commissioners to meet to recommend a site, a plan of buildings, the professorships necessary for teaching all the branches of science at this day deemed useful, etc.

The commissioners by a vote of sixteen for the Central College, two for a second place and

three for a third adopted that for the site of the University. They approved by an unanimous vote the plan of building begun at that place, and agreed on such a distribution of the sciences as it was thought might bring them all within the competence of ten professors; and no doubt is entertained of a confirmation by the legislature at their meeting in December. The plan of building is not to erect one single magnificent building to contain everybody, and everything, but to make of it an academical village, in which every professor should have his separate house, containing his lecturing room with two, three or four rooms for his own accommodation according as he may have a family or no family, with kitchen, garden, etc., distinct dormitories for the students, not more than two in a room and separate boarding-houses for dieting them by private housekeepers. We concluded to employ no professor who is not of the first order of the science he professes, that when we can find such in our own country we shall prefer them and when we cannot we will procure them wherever else to be found.

The standing salary proposed is of one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars with twenty-five dollars tuition fee from each student attending any professor, with house, garden, etc., free of rent. We believe that our own State will furnish five hundred students, and having good information that it will be the resort of all the Western and

Southern States, we count on as many more from them, when in full operation. But as the schools will take time to fill, we propose that until the tuition fees with the salary shall amount to two thousand dollars we will make up that deficiency so as to ensure two thousand dollars from the outset.

The soil in this part of the country is as fertile as any upland soil in any of the maritime States, inhabited fully by a substantial yeomanry of farmers (tobacco long since given up) and being at the first ridge of mountains there is not a healthier or more genial climate in the world. Our maximum of heat and that only of one or two days in summer is about 96, the minimum in winter is $5\frac{1}{2}$, but the mean of the months of June, July, August is 72, 75, 73, and of December, January, February is 45, 36, 40. The thermometer is below 55 (the fire point) four months in the year and about a month before and after that we require fire in the mornings and evenings. Our average of snow is 22 inches, covering the ground as many days in the winter. The necessaries of life are extremely cheap, but dry-goods and groceries excessively dear, which renders it prudent to draw them directly from Philadelphia, New York or Boston, as they come to our doors by water. Our religions are Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and a few Anglicans, a preacher of some of these sects officiating in Charlottesville every Sabbath. Our society is neither scientific

nor splendid, but independent, hospitable, correct and neighborly. But the professors of the University of themselves compose a scientific society. They will be removable only by a vote of two-thirds of the Visitors; and when you are told that the Visitors are Mr. Madison, President Monroe and myself, all known to you by character; Senator Cabell, General Locke, Mr. Watson, gentlemen of distinguished worth and information, you will be sensible that the tenure is in fact for life.

Now, Sir, for the object of all this detail. I have stated that when men of the first order of science in their own line can be found in our own country we shall give them a willing preference. We are satisfied that we can get from no country a professor of higher qualifications than yourself for our mathematical department and we entertain the hope and with great anxiety that you will accept of it. The house for that professorship will be ready at midsummer next or soon after, when we should wish that school to be opened. I know the prejudices of every State against the climates of all those States south of itself, but I know also that the candid traveller advancing southwardly, to a certain degree at least, sees that the real advantages of climate are in the middle and temperate States, and especially when above their tide-waters.

I must add that all this is written on the hypothesis that the legislature will confirm the report

of the commissioners. But that is undoubted, and therefore I make this early application to pray you to take this proposition into consideration and as soon as you can settle your mind on it, to favor me with a line on the subject, shortening my anxiety for its reception only according to your convenience. In the meantime accept the assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

MONTICELLO, November 23, 1818.

The hand of age, my dear friend, has been pressing heavily on me for the few last years and has rendered me unequal to the punctualities of correspondence. My health, too, is lately very much broken down by an illness of three months from which I am but now on the recovery. If, therefore, I am slack in acknowledging the receipt of your much valued letters, goodness will ascribe it to its true causes, declining age and health.

I learn with great pleasure that your country will have in the end a good degree of freedom by a proper attemporament of limited monarchy with representative ingredients; indeed that you have already such a government, for as far as I understand your present constitution, it has more of popular independence and integrity in it than the boasted one of England, and what it still wants, time and the advance of light, will bring probably

as fast as the people can be prepared for it. This I hope will be waited for without risking new convulsions.

Here all is well. Our government is now so firmly put on its republican tack that it will not be easily monarchised by forms. You have made a mighty noise in Europe about our taking possession of some posts in Florida. The President's message delivered a few days ago will set you right on that subject, and show that no wrong was contemplated for a single moment. And what shows an honorable and comfortable trait in our nation was the universal uproar of our own people in the first moment of the apparent aggression and until they saw that their government had no such thing in view. I was delighted with this proof of moral principle in our citizens as to the conduct of their foreign relations and considered it as a pledge that they would never as a nation approve of any measure swerving from justice

Mr. Poirey has plausible ground for supposing I have been inattentive to the claim for compensation for his services during the Revolution, which he committed to my care, but I am without blame on this score. Just as I received his papers the then Secretary of War retired from office. I knew it would be worse than useless during the vacancy to commit to a *chef de bureau* a business which he would not have weight nor confidence enough to act in with effect. The vacancy con-

tinued unfilled nearly a twelvemonth. As soon as a Secretary was appointed I placed the case and papers under his consideration. The enclosed letter from him will show its present state and prospects, and I now write to him to secure his early attention to it during the present session; being now entirely unequal to the labors of the writing-table I must request Mr. Poirey to consider my intermediate silence as saying that nothing is yet done, on the assurance that the moment that anything definite takes place I will give him notice of it. I am rendered very happy by being able at length to send M. Tracy a copy of the translation of his book on political economy, the publication of which is at length accomplished. The delay has been scandalous and to me most vexatious. But I am fully repaid by the good the publication will render to our country. God bless you and preserve you and yours in health and happiness as long as you shall desire it yourselves.

TO HENRY DEARBORN.

MONTICELLO, July 5, 1819.

DEAR SIR,—I received yesterday your favor of June 24, and am very sensible of the interest you so kindly take in my health. The eruptive complaint which came upon me in August last was unquestionably produced by the bath of the warm springs which I tried on account of rheumatism.

The cause of the eruption was mistaken and it was treated with severe unctions of mercury and sulphur. These reduced me to death's door and on ceasing to use them I recovered immediately and consider my health as now perfectly re-established except some small effect on the bowels produced by these remedies and nearly not entirely worn off. I am still thankful for your receipt, and should the eruption return I shall certainly try its effect in preference to those before tried.

With respect to Mr. Stuart, it was in May, 1800, I got him to draw my picture and immediately after the last sitting I paid him his price, one hundred dollars. He was yet to put the last hand on it, so it was left with him. When he came to Washington in 1805 he told me he was not satisfied with it, and therefore begged me to sit again, and he drew another which he was to deliver me instead of the first, but begged permission to keep it until he could get an engraving from it. I soon after got him to sketch me in the medallion form, which he did on paper with crayons. Although a slight thing I gave him another hundred dollars, probably the treble of what he would have asked. This I have; it is a very fine thing, although very perishable.

I cannot say I am anxious about the Spanish treaty; in giving up the province of Texas, we gave up a sugar country sufficient for the supply of the United States. I would rather keep that and trust to the inevitable falling of Florida into our

mouths. It is true, however, that present peace is secured by the exchange; and on the general separation of the Spanish colonies which is to take place, Cuba will join us and give us sugar. The crush of our gambling adventurers who call themselves merchants, but who never owning a dollar were playing doubles or quit with money of others, will be a good in the end by restoring commerce to its true measure; that is to say, just so much as will take off our surplus produce and exchange it for what we want. It is better for us to let other nations carry on their commerce and meet the wars it always produces. What is unfortunate in the present crisis is the danger of its shattering the merchant of real capital, and the country people, many of whom will be heavily affected; some legislative provision to save them and let the crisis wear off by degrees may be salutary.

I am not afraid of a war with England; the eyes of that government are opened as to us, and the inveteracy of their people is softening. It is our interest to meet them in friendship if they will treat us with justice and respect. If we can avoid war with that nation we need never have it with any other, for the separation of Spain from her colonies removes all ground of war with her. Our family joins in testimonies of attachment and kind remembrances to Mrs. Dearborn and yourself, and mine is what it ever was and will be, most affectionate and sincere.

TO ELIJAH GRIFFITH.

MONTICELLO, May 15, 1820.

DEAR SIR,—I received in due time your favor of April 7 and it renewed pleasing recollections of our former acquaintance, and of my sense of your worth which the lapse of twenty years has not obliterated. For some time after my retirement from public affairs I yielded to the requests of others to solicit for them appointments under the general government; these, however, became so numerous and burdensome as to keep me continually in the humble and painful attitude of a supplicant at the feet of the government. Against this humiliation I was obliged to revolt and to come to a resolution to decline further interpositions, from the observance of which I have found ease, comfort and independence. But from a wish to be useful to you I reserved your letter and kept on the watch to see if the bankrupt law should pass, with a view to serve you through an indirect channel; but the bill having failed, the occasion has not occurred of rendering you the service requested.

The distresses you describe in your section of the Union have been bitterly felt here. They are not greater than I had always expected and freely expressed in the creation of the first bank by the new government. Mr. Madison and myself left nothing untried to obtain General Washington's

negative to the law, but after a long struggle in his mind Hamilton prevailed in the last hour and let in this torrent of swindling institutions which have spread ruin and wretchedness over the face of our country. And what is the most disheartening it has still left such a hankering after these allusive establishments that no hope remains of their proscription in future. Their fatal effect has been greatly aggravated in this State by an unexampled drought which, having prevailed from June last to this time, destroyed the bread of that year and threatens that of the present. I greet with goodwill my declining health which promises to relieve me from witnessing the resuscitation of this evil and still more threatening political calamities, and I salute you with constant esteem and respect.

TO JAMES MONROE.

MONTICELLO, August 13, 1821.

DEAR SIR,—You have seen announced in several of our papers an intention of the Polonese nation to erect a monument near Cracow to the memory of General Kosciusko, and their wish that England and the United States, by joining in contributions, might give a proof of the interest they take in his character; that for this purpose they had addressed a letter to Lord Holland in England and to myself in the United States.

I received in fact such a letter some weeks ago

from the President of the Senate of Cracow, with an indication that it should be communicated to you also. Much at a loss to devise in what way I could get about the execution of this proposition I have held the subject for some time under consideration. Retired as I am among the mountains of our interior country I see nobody but the farmers of my neighborhood, who would consider contributions to public monuments in other countries as very foreign to the conditions of their lives. I have been so long withdrawn, too, from intercourse with the world that I no longer know who of Kosciusko's fellow-soldiers are now living, as from them we might expect the most zealous co-operation in rendering this last testimony of respect to him; and above all other considerations the heavy hand of age paralyzing the faculties both of body and mind have rendered me quite unequal to the correspondence it might require, and unfit to become the centre of such an operation. Independent of the express intimation to communicate the paper to you, I should of myself have turned my views first to you as the friend of his fame, and aid of my age; and because should any communications with Lord Holland be expedient, your acquaintance with him would open the door to them.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the burdens of business which your office imposes on you, I have hoped that in your position you could put the thing into

an organized course with little trouble. You know who remain of his former companions in arms and where to be found. You could probably think of some person in each State and great city who would undertake with zeal the necessary solicitations and you could command attentions which would not be yielded to me. The trouble of drawing a circular which the scribes by whom you are surrounded would multiply, would, I hope, be the principal labor imposed on you, for I presume the contributions should be deposited in convenient banks from whence they could be easily brought together for remittance, or (which is very possible under present distresses) should their amount fall short of what might be deemed worthy of acceptance, they could be readily restored to the contributors, and an apology to the Senate of Cracow be given on reasonable ground. I suggest this course by way of example only, for you may probably devise some other more practicable and promising.

I enclose you the papers sent to me, and knowing the labors of reading to which you are subjected I would point out to you the letter of the President and the Proclamation of the Senate No. 1, as the material papers for explaining to you their wishes and expectations.

I hope you will excuse this trespass of age leaning on younger shoulders to relieve itself from a burden to which it is unequal. From such a one I never shrunk while I had force to encounter it. In all

events be assured of my constant and affectionate friendship and respect.

TO LEVETT HARRIS.

MONTICELLO, December 12, 1821.

DEAR SIR,—I have to return you thanks for Mr. Adelung's view of the languages of the earth, and to pray you to make them acceptable to him also for this mark of his attention. It is a work of vast learning and unparalleled application. It seems to present a summary of the great vocabulary of which I had a copy through your agency and kindness.

I am sorry we lost the pleasure of your visit at the time you had first proposed. But we find comfort in the French adage "tout ce qui est differé n'est pas perdu." No visit will be welcomer when convenient to yourself to make it.

I am afraid our quondam favorite Alexander has swerved from the true faith. His becoming an accomplice of the soi-disant Holy Alliance, the anti-national principles he has separately avowed, and his becoming the very leader of a combination to chain mankind down eternally to oppressions of the most barbarous ages, are clouds on his character not easily to be cleared away. But these are problems for younger heads than mine. You will see their solution and tell me of it in another world. I salute you with great friendship and respect.

TO JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

MONTICELLO, July 18, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have safely received the two copies of the fac-simile of the Declaration of Independence which you have been so kind as send me under a resolution of Congress. With a deep sense of respect for this mark of attention to myself I contemplate with pleasure the evidence afforded of reverence for that instrument, and view in it a pledge of adhesion to its principles and of a sacred determination to maintain and perpetuate them. As toward this holy purpose no one has it more in his power to contribute with effect than yourself, so I am equally happy in the confidence that none will do it with more zeal and fidelity, and I pray you to accept the assurance of my great esteem and respectful consideration.

TO JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO, September 24, 1824.

DEAR SIR,—I have got through my catalogue except the alphabet and send you a result. The inclosed table shows the number, size and cost of the whole and its parts. 6860 volumes will cost twenty-four thousand and seventy-six dollars or three and one-half dollars a volume on an average of all sizes. If we get our fifty thousand dollars and also if ten thousand would do for apparatus,

there would remain sixteen thousand to invest in stock. This would give us a thousand dollars a year forever, which beginning with such a nucleus as this would make and keep our library what it should be. Charlottesville is preparing for Lafayette. As he will see you at your own house we shall hope you will come here with him. But in the meantime you will be with us as a visitor a day or so before the 4th. Affectionately yours.

TO MESSRS. ADAMS, FITZUHUYLSON AND BROCKENBROUGH.

MONTICELLO, October 18, 1824.

I have duly received the favor of your invitation of the 12th instant to join you on the interesting occasion of the reception of Major-General Lafayette in testifying the veneration of the citizens of Richmond for his character, their sense of his services and their affection for his person. No one would harmonize in all these sentiments more cordially than myself, no one perhaps having had so protracted and multiplied proofs not only in the war, but the peace which followed it, of his zealous attachment to the service of our country. But at the age and under the infirmities of eighty-one, I am no longer equal to such a journey nor able to avail myself of occasions so distant of joining in the just expressions of the gratitude of my fellow-citizens to this early friend and benefactor. I

flatter myself with being indemnified by the opportunity he will give to myself and my neighbors of manifesting here our sense of the services he rendered our portion of the country particularly, and our participation in the general joy which his visit has inspired in every breast.

Declining this kind invitation, therefore, as I must from necessity, I beg leave to say that my respect for yourselves and the citizens of Richmond would have been a great additional inducement for my acceptance of it. A serious indisposition of some continuance obliges me to borrow the pen of another to convey to yourselves and the citizens of Richmond these my thanks and regrets, and the assurance of my high consideration.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

MONTICELLO, January 16, 1825.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have never been more gratified by the reading of a book than by that of Flourens which you were so kind as to send me. Cabanis had gone far toward proving from the anatomical structure of and action of the human machine that certain parts of it were probably the organs of thought and consequently that matter might exercise that faculty. Flourens proves that it does exercise it and that deprived of the cerebrum particularly the animal loses all sense, all intellect and memory, yet lives in health and for indefinite

terms. It will be curious to see what the immaterialists will oppose to this.

I congratulate you on the testimony of gratitude you have lately received from Congress, and that it was with scarcely a shadow of opposition. The relief from your debts will give you nights of sound sleep and the surplus I hope days of ease and comfort through the rest of your life. You will have where you are better advice than I can give you on the question whether it will not be advisable to keep the stock in your own hands and in its original form. There can be no safer deposit on earth than the Treasury of the United States.

You know how much I have at heart the success of our university. Its opening now awaits only the arrival of three professors engaged in England who were to have sailed in October or November last, but of whose actual sailing we have not yet heard. Still we hourly expect them and in the moment of their arrival shall announce the opening of the University. I count on its changing the condition and character of our State in the course of a very few years. That health, happiness and the love of all may ever attend you is the constant prayer of your faithful and affectionate friend.

TO WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD.

MONTICELLO, February 15, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—Your two letters of January 31 and February 4 were received in due time. With the former came safely the seed from Mr. Appleton which I commit to the Agricultural Society of our county, of which Mr. Madison is president. Of the talents and qualifications of Dr. Jackson as a professor in the branches of science specified in your last letter your recommendation would have had great weight in our estimation, but our professors are all designated so that we have no vacancy in which we can avail ourselves of his services.

I had kept back my acknowledgment of these in the hope I might have added in it congratulations which would have been cordially offered. I learnt yesterday, however, that events had not been what we had wished. The disappointment will be deeply felt by our State generally, and by no one in it more seriously than by myself. I confess that what we have seen in the course of this election has very much damped the confidence I had hitherto reposed in the discretion of my fellow citizens. The ignorance of character, the personal partialities and the inattention to those questions which ought to have guided their choice, augur ill of the wisdom of our future course. Looking, too, to Congress my hopes are not strength-

ened. A decided majority seem to measure their powers only by what they may think or pretend to think for the general welfare of the States. All limitations, therefore, are prostrated and consolidation the general welfare in name but not in effect is now the principle of every department of the government. I have not long to witness this, but it adds another to the motives by which the decays of nature so finely prepare us for welcoming the hour of exit from this state of being.

Be assured that in your retirement you will carry with you my entire confidence and sincere prayers for your health, happiness and prosperity.

TO EDWARD EVERETT.

MONTICELLO, July 21, 1825.

DEAR SIR,—I thank you for the copies of your two public addresses inclosed in your favor of the 6th instant; that of Concord, as a morsel of (exeut?) history and of a most interesting event, was peculiarly acceptable. I am sorry it is not in my power to give you any information on the subject of the Louisiana treaty. My memory is gone and I have no papers on the subject. But surely the "Conjectural note" you mention as annexed to the Convention must still remain annexed and preserved in the Secretary of State's

office. Colonel Monroe, too, must be able to give some account of it, and other resources of information will open on you when you come on to Congress. The report of the commissioners, Mercer, McClure and (I believe) Warden, will unquestionably be in that or the treasury office.

I knew the range of your mind too well ever to have supposed for a moment you could view but with contempt the miserable sneers on our seeking abroad some of the professors for our University. Had I thought them worth notice I should have asked of those wits and censors these questions only. The seminaries of the United States being all of them first served for the choice of the talents of our own country, were we to take the refuse and place ourselves thus at the fag end of the whole line? Would it have been either patriotism or fidelity in us to have sunk the youth of our State to a half-lettered grade of education by committing them to inferior instruction and rejecting that of the first order merely because offered from without the limits of our own Union, and the mass of science among us still further reduced by the refusal of many eminent characters to accept academical instructions, and is this the way to advance the American character? We thought otherwise and as yet believe we have reason to be satisfied with the course we have pursued. I hope the only rivalship with our elder sisters will be in honorable efforts to do the most good possible.

I am happy in the expectation which your letter authorizes that you will think our institution worthy of a visit and I shall even hope from your experience and kindness to receive suggestions for its further improvement than which none would be more respected by me. I beg you to be assured also that no visit will be received with more welcome than yours.

I am truly gratified by the flattering anticipations you express of the society of my granddaughter now arriving at Boston, and hope you will not be disappointed in this. She is so deeply seated in my affections that a kindness to her counts tenfold with me. I think her most fortunate, too, in the person to whom we have committed her happiness. I have not been acquainted with a finer character than Mr. Coolidge, more amiable, more respectable or more worthy; and (destined?) to relinquish her native home we are thankful it was in exchange for the favorite seat of hospitality and science.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

MONTICELLO, August 8, 1825.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Mr. Rebello of Brazil, who has rendered us an agreeable visit, tells me you will be in Washington on the 10th, and that we may hope to have the pleasure of seeing you here very soon after that; this we shall ever do with

heartfelt welcome. I am not well, but it is a local complaint which confines me to the house indeed, but in tolerable health otherwise and I shall be much the better for your presence which will be my best medicine, only unable to make excursions with you. Not knowing where the enclosed letter would find Miss Wright, I take the liberty of giving it the benefit of your cover and of requesting you to superscribe its address and to dispose of it so that she may get it as early as practicable. In the hope of seeing you within a few days and your companions for whom I here place my respects, I repeat the assurances of my affectionate and constant friendship and attachment.

TO JAMES MADISON.

MONTICELLO, October 18, 1825.

Everything is going on smoothly at the University. The students are attending to their schools with more assiduity and looking to their professors with more respect. The authority of the latter is visibly strengthened as is the confidence of those who visit the place, and the effect on the whole has been salutary. The professors are all lecturing; the two Cantabs, somewhat in the pouts, however, are reserved. I sent a copy of the new enactments the other day with a request they might be read to the schools for promulgation. The other professors did it, these did not nor said why.

My rides to the University have brought on me great sufferings, reducing my intervals of ease from forty-five to twenty minutes. This is a good index of the changes which take place.

I was taken in by Mr. Browere. He said his operation would be of about twenty minutes, and less unpleasant than Houdon's method. I submitted without enquiry. But it was a bold experiment on his part on the health of an octogenary worn down by sickness as well as age. Successive coats of grout plastered on the naked head and kept there an hour would have been a severe trial of a young and hale man. He suffered the plaster also to get so dry that separation became difficult and even dangerous. He was obliged to use freely the mallet and chisel to break it into pieces and get off a piece at a time. These strokes of the mallet would have been sensible almost to a logger-head. The family became alarmed and he confused till I was quite exhausted, and there became real danger that the ears would tear from the head sooner than from the plaster. I now bid adieu for ever to busts and even portraits. I do not know whether you are acquainted with Colonel Peyton of Richmond, as honest and worthy a man as lives, and the most punctual in business. He understands that Lay, your correspondent there, is become bankrupt, and would gladly serve you there. He has been mine ten or a dozen years and I never had one who would lend himself even

in the smallest things so kindly and zealously. He has all the business of this neighborhood and the Staunton county. I know that these connections are dictated often by very special and personal considerations and my mention of him is only *ut valeat quantum valere debat.* Ever and affectionately yours.

Marquis de Lafayette

(1757–1834.)

Reproduction from the Original Painting by Thomas Sully. The painting hangs behind the Speaker's Desk in the House of Representatives at Washington.

Staunton county. I know that these
tions are dictated only by very special and

affectionately yours.

MANUSCRIPTS

FROM

THE VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY COLLECTION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

A curious old tome bearing the title "Thomas Jefferson's Letter Book" recently came to light in the Virginia State Library at Richmond. Upon examination it was found to contain copies of letters and orders sent by Jefferson during the last six months of his Governorship of the State of Virginia. In all probability these letters and orders were transcribed in this book by one of Jefferson's secretaries or some other official. Careful consideration of the contents led to the selections presented in the following pages which, though not attempting to give the collection in its entirety, owing to repetitions of the same statement to different persons, may be said, however, to present the gist of the collection as a whole.

So far as is known this is the first time the letters have been printed and given to the public. It is well known that Jefferson was in the habit of retaining a copy of everything that emanated from his pen. These copies were usually in his own handwriting. It was presumably owing to the stress of the occasion during which these letters were issued that he entrusted the copying to a clerk. Hence the copies of these letters and orders in the old yellowed volume in which they have been preserved.

These documents are of unusual interest as written evidences of Jefferson's efforts to cope with one of the greatest crises of his life, when, at the expiration of his second term as Governor of Virginia, his native State was a centre of warring elements. Strife concentrated about him. He had to supply the Virginia regiment in Washington's Army with men, and at the same time send all possible support to General Gates in his Southern Campaign. The Indians in the western part of the State were a source of constant anxiety and trouble, and the British and Hessian prisoners had to be guarded and supplied with provisions. Then came Benedict Arnold, early in January, 1781, with his vessels of war and sixteen hundred men to besiege and plunder the city of Richmond, and to cap the climax of Jefferson's trials. How Jefferson conducted himself is a matter of history which the documents contained in "The Richmond Collection" further corroborate, testi-

fying to his constant endeavors to meet and thwart the difficulties threatening to overcome him.

The majority of the letters are addressed to Baron Steuben, General Gates, General Nelson, General Greene, General Muhlenberg and Marquis de Lafayette. All of them show the activity of Jefferson in keeping up communication with these commanders throughout the country wherever they might be engaged in fighting against the British invaders.

Acknowledgment is due to John P. Kennedy, Librarian of the Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va., to whose kindness and courtesy the editors of the present edition of Jefferson's Writings are indebted for the reproduction of the manuscripts in question.

MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE VIRGINIA STATE LIBRARY COLLECTION.

TO THE QUARTER-MASTERS OF FREDERICK, HAMPSHIRE AND BERKELEY.

RICHMOND, December 24, 1780.

SIR,—A detachment of the militia of the county of Frederick being ordered to Fort Pitt on their way down the Ohio, you are desired to act as commissary and quarter-master for them till their arrival at Fort Pitt. The time of their rendezvousing within the county will be made known to you by the commanding officer. You will, therefore, provide in time subsistence for them during their march, and transportation for the little baggage they will carry. You will also receive and transport with them to the same place 400 camp kettles, 1000 pounds powder, some medicine, tents and other things. This transportation is to be effected by wagons or horses for hire, and not to be purchased. I send you for the purpose of enabling you to perform these duties to ——— for the expenditure of which you will finally settle with the board of auditors for the counties of

Berkeley and Hampshire the same, except omitting this sentence "you will also receive ——— tents and other things."

Frederick	£40,000
Hampshire	25,000
Berkeley	30,000

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, January 12, 1781.

SIR,—I was honored with yours of yesterday by Colonel Loyanté. General Weedon, to whom the care of the works at Fredericksburg had been committed, being now at Hanover Court-House, I have referred Colonel Loyanté to him, and given them authority to make use of the brass cannon, howitz or mortars at New Castle, if they use them, for they are unmounted. I heard in the same instant that 744 riflemen under Colonel Matthews were as far as Albemarle on their way down. Being then within sixty miles of Fredericksburg I have ordered them to proceed to that place.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, January 14, 1781.

SIR,—Your letters of the 12th and 13th are now before me. They are in some measure answered by some marginal notes on the several articles in a paper delivered me by Major Walker. If

there be any State arms fit for use and still undelivered they are so few that we may consider them as nothing. I should, therefore, think it proper to discharge so many militia as cannot be furnished with arms. My letter of yesterday will point out what particular militia should be discharged. Should it happen that there are already more militia with you from the counties enumerated in my yesterday's letter than you have arms for, would it not be proper to send the surplus of such militia over to General Nelson to take the place and arms of so many of his who were not meant to be detained?

The public have not a pound of powder or other article of military stores at South Quay, except some twenty-four and eighteen pound iron cannon: they are unusually heavy for this bore, and a quarter-master has been specially sent and employed there during the last summer in bringing them over to Suffolk or Smithfield. They have so far baffled his attempts, as that he has got over but one of them; another broke down a bridge on its passage, which suspend his further endeavors.

P. S. If it be possible for you to spare Colonel Senf to plan our works at Westham we shall be glad of his assistance.

TO COLONEL TIMOTHY PICKERING.

RICHMOND, January 15, 1781.

SIR,—I wrote you in a former letter that on the recommendation of General Greene, we had proposed to Major Forsyth the accepting the appointment of deputy quarter-master here, which you had been pleased to refer to us. This appointment was kept open, I think, a month, during which time (and indeed at any time since) we never received any answer from Major Forsyth, or intimation through any other channel that he would undertake it. On the contrary it appeared by letter from him that he had accepted the office of deputy commissary of purchases for the Southern Department. In the meantime Colonel Canington, appointed by General Greene deputy quarter-master to the Southern army, arrived here, claimed the right of nomination, and nominated a Major Claiborne. Though we doubted the propriety of his claim, yet it was a want of acquaintance with Major Claiborne and a real inability (after the refusal of Mr. Divers and Major Forsyth) to find another whom we could recommend in all points, which induced us to refer the nomination altogether to Baron Steuben, who was here. He approved of Major Claiborne as having formerly known him while of General Greene's family and assured us the appointment would be particularly agreeable to General Greene, and that he would

undertake to satisfy you also of its propriety. I thought it my duty to inform you of this matter, and have no doubt from anything which I have yet seen but that Major Claiborne will do justice to the Baron's expectations.

TO GENERAL NELSON.

RICHMOND, January 16, 1781.

SIR,—The bearer hereof, Captain Joel, proposes to engage with others to undertake with himself an enterprise on the enemy's fleet wherever it shall be collected in harbor. As he requires only an old vessel of the most worthless kind, and proper preparations for her, I think the object will justify the risk. So many orders and measures may be necessary in the detail of executing this business that I cannot do better than to give a general sanction to it, and ask the favor of yourself to have everything provided which he may think necessary to ensure success. Rewards are expected on desperate undertakings of this kind, and though not necessary to stimulate him, may be necessary for his associates. I will, therefore, leave it to yourself to fix them previously, or to agree with the gentlemen that they shall be referred to the Executive after the service shall have been performed.

TO COLONEL CARRINGTON.

RICHMOND, January 16, 1781.

SIR,—I have desired Colonel Muter to have delivered to Major Claiborne such of the articles applied for in your letter of the 10th instant as we have. We have no tents of any kind. Axes, spades, shovels and padlocks can probably be furnished. We have sent to Fredericksburg for camp-kettles, which shall be forwarded as soon as they come.

I think a few days will probably determine the enemy's ultimate designs as to us: in the meantime I do not wish to give any decisive orders as to the place of slaughtering the provisions. The expenditure of pork indeed at this season must be forbidden. It shall be my endeavor to suffer this invasion to divert as little as possible of our supplies for the Southern army.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, January 19, 1781.

SIR,—A warrant was yesterday made out for Mr. Harrison for two hundred thousand dollars, and I shall take the first opportunity of informing him that the money is in readiness. This is in consequence of your requisition communicated by Major Walker.

Dr. Evans, the bearer of your letter, will receive from the gentleman who has the care of our medicine whatever articles can be furnished from that stock. It is a very imperfect collection. I, immediately, on receiving the communication from you by Major Walker that you would wish such a person as you therein described to be with you, laid it before the Council. We concluded to propose to Mr. Walker (late one of our delegates) to accept this office; having once been a member of the Council, he is not unacquainted with our arrangements. I sent to him by express, and shall hope for an answer very shortly. I sincerely wish he may consent to undertake it, as I am satisfied he can save you much trouble. Should he decline it I apprehend it is not easy to find another who will be of real use to you.

None of the militia with General Weedon (except from the counties of Rockbridge, Augusta, Rockingham and Shenandoah) were of the counties intended to be kept in the field. I thought it necessary to mention this circumstance to you, as you might perhaps think proper to discharge them before they join General Nelson. I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, January 19, 1781.

SIR,—Shirts had been ordered for Colonel Armand's Corps on your former requisition; these, I believe, are ready. They are ordered to be delivered to Major Loman's order. We have not a single article of the others enumerated in his list of necessaries wanted. We could, therefore, only undertake for him to furnish money to the Continental quarter-master or any other proper person to procure them; if this mode should be approved, this or any other assistance we can give shall be afforded. The practice introduced by the enemy of laying the country through which they pass under a parole is so mischievous that I have thought it necessary to issue the proclamation of which I enclose you a copy. I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, January, 29 1781.

SIR,—I send you below a list of the counties which were called on to make a part of the four thousand men for this invasion, though they were called into the field on the last invasion also. As your reduction of the four thousand to two thousand seven hundred will enable you to discharge some

of those counties, I think it would be best that these below mentioned should be first discharged. I have the honor to be, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

Amherst.	Amelia
Albemarle.	Brunswick.
Fluvanna.	Dinwiddie.
Goochland.	Chesterfield.
Powhatan.	Henrico.

Note.—Rockbridge, Augusta and Rockingham were also called down on the former invasion, but I apprehend it will not be proper to discharge them.

TO GOVERNOR NASH OF NORTH CAROLINA.

RICHMOND, February 2, 1781.

SIR,—As it is possible the enemy may mean to continue in their present position at Portsmouth, and thereby shut up all commerce through the bay of Chesapeake, it becomes necessary to make provision in time through some other channel, of salt, clothing and coverings for our Southern army. South Quay presents itself as the most practicable port. We have found it necessary here to permit the exportation of corn *on public account* to procure salt for public use. Vessels will, therefore, be freighted with this article from South Quay, which, as they must of necessity pass through your State, I hope will be permitted to pass freely; indeed could your Excellency give

permission to Mr. Ross, our commercial agent, to procure part of his loading of corn in your State, it would save much transportation to us. The returns in salt will be in like manner to South Quay, or directly up the Roanoke to the magazines desired to be established by General Greene.

We hope within a short time to complete the equipments of the residue of our regulars (between four and five hundred) and to send them on to General Greene, being determined to permit the body of plunderers in our State to divert as little as possible of our effectual aids from the southern quarter. We shall oppose them with militia, and send our regulars to join the Southern army.

I have the honor to be, with very great esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, February 7, 1781.

SIR,—The inclosed letter contains the first notification the Executive have received of the existence of any such cases as that of Lieutenant Warman therein stated. Exclusive of the justice of his claim, the express reservation by the board of officers of the rights of all those in his situations, seems to place him on the footing on which he would have been had his commission been actually made out instead of that of whatever officer was

substituted in his place. As you are proceeding to a new arrangement of our line, I have taken the liberty of referring Lieutenant Warman with the inclosed letter to you to claim his rank. Should these be contrary to the expectations of the Executive, such reasons against his claim and in favor of his competition, as in your judgment should decide this point against Lieutenant Warman, shall be obliged to you for a communication of them; and in the meantime to keep the question open.

I have the honor to be with very great esteem and respect, your most obedient humble servant.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, February 7, 1781.

SIR,—The bearer hereof, Colonel Gaines, a militia officer in the county of Amherst, being desirous to become qualified in fact for the command he holds in his county, has applied to us to be permitted to serve on such a footing as will place it in his power to acquire a knowledge of his duty, asking nothing but rations and forage. While others, offended at the preference given to officers formerly of the line, have resigned commissions, the duty of which they were not qualified to discharge, this gentleman more laudably determines to learn those duties. This spirit we wish to encourage because produced by a due tempera-

ment of modesty and patriotism. Now, therefore, as the undertaking is, I must beg the favor of you to find some means of disposing not only of him, but of any others who may apply for the same purpose, so as to put it in their power to acquire the knowledge necessary to enable them to act in their proper command hereafter. The rations and forage allowed them shall be at the expense of the State. I am, with much respect, Sir, yours, etc.

TO THE VIRGINIA DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

RICHMOND, February 7, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,—The Courier d'Europe, a vessel from Penet and Company, having on board military stores for this State, was chased into Boston by the enemy in the summer of 1779. They were principally artillery stores, too bulky and heavy for us to think of bringing them on by land. By the loss of our papers we are unable to furnish an invoice of them, but they are in the hands of a Mr. I. Bradford, in Boston, who, I suppose, can furnish you with one. If you can get them on board any part of the French fleet, which may at any time be coming here, it would be eligible; otherwise I beg the favor of you to have them disposed of to the best advantage for the public.

I am, with very great respect and esteem, gentlemen, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO GENERAL NELSON.

IN COUNCIL, February 10, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,—Information having been given the Board that sundry horses of British property, having been left by the enemy, were taken by our militia or unarmed citizens, and a question made whether they belong to the Commonwealth or the captor, we are of opinion that they should be yielded to the captor. It is thought, however, when any public doubt can arise who was captor, that the horses should be put in the hands of the State quarter-master, and the party or parties claiming make their right appear to the Commissioner of the War Office. As this question, as far as we are informed, concerns only persons under your command, I take the liberty of communicating it to you.

Your disposition of the hides of slaughtered beeves is approved of. I am sorry any loss has been incurred in that article before. We made it the subject of inquiry on the former invasion, and from the reports made to us, had reason to believe all had been taken care of. The oil is almost of as much importance as the hide.

The wagons which were sent to Fredericksburg for camp-kettles found none ready made. Mr. Hunter is making more, and other wagons will go off for them within three on four days. As fast as they are brought we shall endeavor to send them to

the militia. It would be well for us to be informed what number you have.

I am, with great respect, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, February 12, 1781.

SIR,—I have been honored with your letter of yesterday's date. Your representation of the importance of erecting a small work at Hood's was considered by the Executive as an evidence of your friendly attentions to the defence of the State, and was by them, as you desired, laid before the assembly. The assembly, pressed in time, did not, as far as I am informed take it under consideration. The invasion which took place just before their rising prevented anything further being done till the departure of the enemy from this place, and the return of the Executive to it. The proposition of undertaking the work which you then again renewed was approved by them, and they determined to procure if possible the several articles necessary for carrying it into immediate execution according to a plan and estimate prepared by Colonel Senf. I think, however, you misapprehended us when you understood it was agreed that the forty negroes and ten artificers required should be furnished by the five nearest counties, and be at the spot the 7th instant; it does not occur to myself, or any gentleman of the

Council, that the 7th, or any other day was fixed on for their assembling, and that we could not have *agreed* that the forty negroes and ten artificers should be furnished by the five nearest counties may be deduced from the conversation which you will recollect to have passed between us the evening before you last went to Cabin Point. You informed me you meant to call for twenty militia from each of the five circumjacent counties to come to Hood's with their hoes and axes to erect the work, but to notify them at the same time that you would receive ten negroes in their room. And you asked me whether you must apply to government for authority to do this. I answered, that such an application would produce no effect, as it had been the subject of conversation at the Council Board that day, and the Board was of opinion we had no right to call out the militia to do fatigue duty. You then replied, you could do it of your own authority and throw yourself on the assembly for a justification.

I repeat this conversation thus particularly to satisfy you that we could not have agreed that the five nearest counties should produce these laborers, and of course that we stand discharged of having failed to fulfil such an agreement.

The Executive have not by the laws of this State, any power to call a freeman to labor even for the public without his consent, nor a slave without that of his master: sensible of this, when

we first proposed to undertake this work, as you meant that Colonel Senf should superintend it, I desired him to search among our artillery officers whom he would choose to conduct it under his direction, and that this officer should immediately proceed to hire the slaves in the neighborhood of Hood's, where I thought it most likely the people would be willing to hire as the work respected their safety more immediately. He did so, and sent a Captain Allen on this business. In a subsequent journey to Petersburg Colonel Senf informed me that he had himself engaged eight or ten. Four carpenters were assigned to Colonel Senf at this place. The several articles of tools (except hoes) and fascine knives and barrows were procured for him here, a boat to carry them down, and I took it for granted that they went. The two blacksmiths are ready at this place when wanted. What success Captain Allen has had is not reported to me. The Executive are far from thinking this work unnecessary; nor yet that it will be out of their power to furnish the necessaries for erecting it. Yet they may possibly be disappointed in their expectations of engaging voluntary laborers, the only means in their power. Sensible that a necessary work is not to be abandoned because their means are not so energetic as they could wish them, and on the contrary that it is their duty to take those means as they find them and to make the most of them for the public good, they propose to pursue

this work, and if they cannot accomplish it in a shorter, they will in a longer time.

From a review of these circumstances, I hope you will be persuaded that any delays which may have occured have been produced by circumstances which it was not in our power to control, and not from either a want of attention or inclination to the work. I have the honor to be, with great respect, yours, etc., etc.

TO SPEAKER HARRISON
(HOUSE OF BURGESSES).

RICHMOND, February 12, 1781.

SIR,—Colonel John Gibson is appointed to go as next in command under General Clarke on the business communicated to you. As Colonel Gibson is now here he will return to Fort Pitt by the way of Baltimore to see the powder sent on, and prevent any danger of its stopping by the way. Be so good as to lodge at Goddard's, the printer, in Baltimore, a line to Colonel Gibson informing him in what State the procuring of the powder is; he will call there for it.

That your information may be perfect as we can render it, I am to inform you that the three months' militia under General Stevens in North Carolina, their number not known, are discharged, having served their term out. For southern news I beg leave to refer you to the President of Con-

gress, who has a letter from Baron Steuben giving information of the events in the neighborhood of General Greene, and one from myself as to the movements of the enemy at Cape Fear. Arnold remains quiet. Colonel Dunlap came out the first instant with five hundred men towards Suffolk. General Lawson went down toward him with an equal number, whereon Dunlap returned in the night. They are drawing their shipping into shallow water, and have a large vessel from New York cut down so as to mount twenty twenty-four pounders on one deck. I am, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, February 13, 1781.

SIR,—The inclosed resolutions of Congress of January 8th and April 9th, 1779, under which Captain Weths' independent company at Fort Pitt were raised, will inform you of a condition to which they seem entitled of not being removed from that station without their consent; the subsequent one of October 3d, 1780, incorporates them in positive terms into the troops of the State. The former resolutions were probably not recollected at the time. The footing on which, therefore, they seem to stand rightfully, is to remain at Fort Pitt if they choose it; but as it was the desire of Congress that they should be annexed to some of our regiments, and Colonel J. Gibson thinks

they would rather join his than remain at Fort Pitt after losing their own officers, I beg leave to refer to you whether it might not be proper that you should order so many of them to be annexed to that regiment *as should be willing to join it.*

This, while it pays due respect to a solemn engagement with those people, will probably effect the wish of Congress in reducing that, as well as other detached corps, to some regular from.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, February 15, 1781.

SIR,—I received last night a letter from General Greene referring me for particulars to you. However, he gives me enough to convince me that reinforcements of militia must be sent him. I think the most speedy and effectual reinforcement would be the militia of Rockbridge, Augusta, Rockingham and Shenandoah now encamped below, provided they can be induced to go willingly. The length of their march heretofore, and having been some time in service, seems to give them a right to be consulted. I leave the detaching them to the aid of General Greene to your better judgment. Should you approve of it and think it necessary to call other militia to take their place, I will order others. Besides this reinforcement to

General Greene I propose to order from Washington, Montgomery and Botetourt, five hundred and forty riflemen, and from Pittsylvania and Henry four hundred and eighty, who will want arms; to these add the detachment at Chesterfield C. H. I send out to-day the orders to Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Pittsylvania and Henry. If you would advise any more, and think they can be armed, more will be sent.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, February 17, 1781.

SIR,—Mr. Loyall, from the post at the North West Bridge, representing to me that about four hundred of the militia of Princess Anne and Norfolk are embodied, that they annoy the enemy considerably, restraining their foraging parties, and checking their motions (which latter circumstance is confirmed by letter from General Lawson), but that they are dispirited for want of some communication with the main army on the northern end of the Dismal, and meditating to lay down their arms. I submit to yourself the propriety of establishing a line of riders from General Gregory's camp to such of your posts as you shall think proper. Your order (if you think proper) to Colonel Elliott, the field quarter-master, will

suffice to effect this. I have taken the liberty of referring Mr. Loyall to you. He will also speak with you on the subject of arms; but as those already embodied are armed, I cannot but doubt the expediency of sending any from our stock under present circumstances.

I order the commissary to send a deputy to subsist these men on the east of the Dismal. Every circumstance of notice will keep up their spirits; and if the enemy can be restrained from foraging below Portsmouth as well as above, they will be less easy in their situation. I am, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, February 18, 1781.

SIR,—I have this moment received intelligence that Lord Cornwallis continues his rapid approach, and there is reason to believe he was at Roanoke on the 14th. This information is not authentic, yet it comes in such manner as to command some attention. I have, therefore, thought it expedient to order every man of the counties of Powhatan, Cumberland, Amelia, Lunenburg and Brunswick who has a firelock, or for whom one can be procured, to be embodied and marched immediately to join General Greene, and those of the counties of Chesterfield and Dinwiddie to be embodied, but not marched till further orders, which they

may receive at the moment of embodying better adapted to actual circumstances.

I am aware of the possibility that my information may be premature, yet as its truth is equally possible and the consequences of disregarding it might be so much more fatal, I think it my duty to take this measure. I am, etc., etc.

TO GENERAL GREENE.

RICHMOND, February 19, 1781.

SIR,—I wrote you in haste yesterday by the return of your express in answer to your letter of the 15th. Major McGill not being able to set out till this morning, furnishes me with an opportunity of inclosing you regular blank powers of impress to be directed to such persons as you shall think proper for impressing horses for your dragoons.

When we ordered out the militia from the several counties we ordered them to go properly officered, as we had no certainty of there being any regular officers ready to command them. There is now a great collection of regular officers at Chesterfield C. H., met for the purpose of arranging our line and discharging it of supernumeraries. As there are not regulars for even those who will remain in the service to command, I shall submit to Baron Steuben, whether, besides requesting all those who shall be declared supernumerary to go to you, it may not be expedient to send

those also who though remaining of the line cannot have a present command for want of men. If these go, it will be in your power to permit such of the militia officers to return home as choose it, and forming the men into small battalions, to dispose of both regular and militia officers as you please.

Baron Steuben has availed himself at Suffolk of the regular officers by forming the militia into regiments of four hundred each, and dividing the regiment into two battalions of two hundred each. This gave room for the regular officers, who, of course, commanded those of the militia of the same rank; however, this and every other plan is submitted to yourself. I have the honor to be, with very great esteem, Sir, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, February 21, 1781.

SIR,—I received from Mr. Armistead yesterday afternoon a copy of the receipt for the one hundred and seventeen blankets. He excuses himself for the error in calling them one hundred and fifty-five from having spoken by memory. I did not observe till I delivered it to you that the certificate of the delivery of Mr. Ross's blankets (one hundred and five I think there were) wanted a date. I know, however, that they were delivered about the same time with those from Mr. Armistead.

There will still remain ninety unaccounted for, which will be worth inquiring.

The enclosed letter from the Continental director of the hospital at Fredericksburg being proper to be transmitted to whatever person has succeeded Dr. Kirkman, either in his office generally or in the custody of the Continental medicines, and being uninformed who that person is, I take the liberty of submitting it to your order.

TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE NAVAL FORCE OF HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY ON THE COAST OF VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, February 28, 1781.

SIR,—I have the honor to forward to you the inclosed letter which accompanied others from General Washington and the Marquis Lafayette to the honorable Major-General Baron Steuben and myself. That there may be no disappointment in procuring the pilots required, I get the favor of Captain Maxwell, Naval Commander to this State, to proceed to Hampton to provide them. His knowledge of the service and of the properest persons to be employed will, I hope, ensure our getting them. You will be pleased to advise him as to the number necessary. The communication between yourself and the commanding officer on shore, I suppose to be at present safe and easy. If you can point out anything which it is in

my power to have done to render it more so, I shall with great pleasure have it done.

General Washington mentions that you had been so kind as to take on board some arms and clothing on account of this State. Captain Maxwell is instructed to take measures for receiving them. I shall be happy to have it in my power to contribute by any orders I can give towards supplying your troops with provisions, or any other necessaries which may promote their health or accommodation, and in every instance to testify our gratitude to your nation in general, and yourself personally, for the aid you have brought us on the present emergency, and the honor to be, with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir, yours, etc., etc.

TO COLONEL PICKERING.

RICHMOND, March 4, 1781.

SIR,—I am very sorry that the appointment of deputy quarter-master in this State has been so managed as to produce difficulty. You will he pleased to observe that after I wrote to Major Forsythe to know whether he would accept of it, I waited upwards of a month and received no answer. The business of transportation suffered greatly for want of a head to the several deputies, and much distressed the Southern army. At the end of that period I received a letter from Major

Forsythe taking no notice of the appointment of deputy quarter-master which had been tendered him, and showing that he was acting under a new appointment of deputy commissary-general to the Southern army, or of the Southern department, I forget which. From this it was supposed that he declined undertaking the office of deputy quarter-master, and the papers were put into the hands of Baron Steuben and a new appointment made, as has been formerly explained to you. At the time we proposed Major Forsythe as deputy quarter-master his former office of deputy commissary of purchases in this State was become a nullity, because we had undertaken to provide by agents of our own, the specifics required by Congress, which were to be delivered to storekeepers under the direction of the quarter-master. There was, therefore, nothing to be done by a Continental commissary of purchases within the State. The present appointment, however, of Major Forsythe as deputy commissary-general to the Southern army will require his attendance on that army, will occupy his time fully in procuring provisions to subsist the army during the intervals, which the irregularities of the specific supplies by the several States will necessarily occasion, and, therefore, seems not to leave it in his power to perform the duties of your deputy in this State. I have the pleasure, however, to inform you that Major Forsythe expresses himself

perfectly satisfied, and does not propose to urge a right to the appointment.

Major Claiborne being at first utterly unknown to me, I was afraid to do more in my former letter to you than to hand to you what was said of him by others. The duties of his office, giving me daily occasion to judge of him from my own observation, I think he is exceedingly attentive, discreet, with talents not inferior to the office, and upon the whole that he will give you satisfaction. I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, yours, etc., etc.

TO THE HONORABLE JUDGES OF THE HIGH COURT OF CHANCERY.

RICHMOND, March 5, 1781.

SIR,—The Executive (on the public account) are under a difficulty which will be sufficiently explained by the within paper. You will perceive by that that we propose to refer the matter to arbitration in another State. Nevertheless, we suppose the only question which occasions a doubt (that is whether if Mr. Nathan took up the bills bona fide, as he alleges, he is entitled to a payment in hard, money at par) must have been frequently decided, and in such case we should be unwilling to show such ignorance of the law as to require an award on a clear point. I am, therefore, desired to beg, your advice on that point,

assuring you that it shall not come in question before you judicially. If you shall be of opinion that we ought to pay at par we shall do it; if you think otherwise it shall be referred, as you see by the papers, has been agreed on. I am only to trouble you further for an immediate answer, if you will be so good as to oblige us. I am, with very great esteem, your most obedient servant.

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

IN COUNCIL, March 9, 1781.

SIR,—The Executive were informed during the last summer or fall, that the Accomack and Diligence galleys were deserted by officers and men, and left open to be plundered of their guns and furniture. Orders were immediately given to Commodore Baron to arrest the officers, to have the men sought for and taken, one of the galleys brought round to the Bayside of the eastern shore and manned with the same men and the other to be brought to the western shore to be repaired. The bay being infested with privateers at that time prevented the immediate execution of the orders, and the subsequent invasions which took place in October and December have continued the interruption of our intercourse with that shore. In the meantime we learn that the vessels have been much plundered, and their hulls so injured as to render it doubtful whether worth repairing.

We have taken, and shall continue to pursue, measures for punishing those who have thus abused the public, and recovering indemnification, but should it be not expedient to dispose of the hulls, the sanction of the general assembly, if they approve of it, would be necessary.

I have the honor to be, etc., etc.

TO GENERAL MUHLENBERG.

IN COUNCIL, March 16, 1781.

SIR,—We have thought it better to change our line of expresses from hence to your headquarters, and make it across the river at Hood's. Mr. Kempe comes down with sundry articles procured at the request of the Marquis, and to procure others which could not be got here. These you will be so kind as to have taken care of to be delivered to the particular order of the Marquis when he shall arrive. I before wrote to ask the favor of you to take measures for the subsistence and safe custody of the horses procured for the Marquis by Mr. Smith or his agents.

The militia who were first called into service and still remain are, as I am informed, impatient to be relieved. They should certainly have been relieved before this, but it cannot be unknown to them that an enterprise is meditated, which may put an end, in some measure, to the necessity of calling them from their homes in the future. I

think that a successful attempt on the present army in Portsmouth will prevent our enemies from ever trusting another in Chesapeake. To change the whole militia at such a crisis would be the most dangerous operation that could be attempted. I will beg you to assure them that the moment this enterprise is over, and I hope not very many days will be requisite, a relief shall be ready to take their places if a relief shall be necessary. I shall be glad to hear from you frequently, and am, with much esteem, Sir, yours, etc., etc.

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

IN COUNCIL, March 17, 1781.

SIR,—I take the liberty of inclosing to the general assembly, the within proposition from Mr. Ross, the Continental agent for the State, as the legislature alone can carry it into effect, should it meet with approbation. I have the honor to be, with very great respect, Sir, yours, etc., etc.

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

IN COUNCIL, March 17, 1781.

SIR,—The inclosed act of Congress will inform you of the final ratification of the confederation of thirteen United States of America. I beg leave to congratulate the general assembly on this

very important event, by which a firm bond of union is drawn on these States, our friends enabled to report confidence in our engagements, and our enemies deprived of their only remaining hope. I have the honor to be, etc.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF HISPANIOLA.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, March 24, 1781.

SIR,—Mr. David Ross, commercial agent for this State, who, as such, is entrusted with the exportation of commodities on the public account, and information of necessaries for the army, dispatches a vessel for the island over which your Excellency presides.

The extreme distress of this State for arms and military stores, and the unison of object of his most Christian Majesty and the North American States in the present war against Great Britain, embolden me to ask your Excellency's permission to the agent of Mr. Ross to purchase, either from private or public stores within your government, and to export such arms and military stores as the proceeds of the cargo may enable him to purchase. Not knowing whether the regulations of your government may admit this without your permission, I have taken the liberty of troubling your Excellency with this application, and have the honor to be, with sentiments of the highest

respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR NASH.

RICHMOND, March 24, 1781.

SIR,—The situation of affairs in our eastern and southern quarters rendering peace on our western frontier extremely desirable, the general assembly of this State, by a resolution which I do myself the honor of enclosing to your Excellency, have recommended a conciliation with the Cherokees in a particular manner. Not knowing what is the present situation of the war with that nation I have given authority to Colonels Preston and Christian and Major Martin to concur with any commissioners whom your Excellency may think proper to authorize, to treat on the subject of peace, whenever a proper occasion shall offer. I cannot doubt your concurrence in opinion that it is our policy to discontinue the division of our western militia from their attention to the Southern war. Should you be pleased to make such an appointment on your part, your commissioners will be enabled immediately to open a correspondence with ours, so as to agree on circumstances, lines and places. The resolution seems to suppose some ground of complaint to exist with the Cherokees as to their boundary. As none such of late date have come to my knowledge, I could only assure

the commissioners that every just cause of complaint on that subject should be removed by us as far as this State is concerned in it. Better information will perhaps enable you to be more precise in your instructions to your commissioners.

I had the honor of your Excellency's letter of the 17th instant from Granville county. I have given orders to our commissary to instruct his agents in Mecklenburg and Halifax counties to pursue the plan your Excellency had begun, and to avail himself in the fullest manner of the resource which the river and seasons afford us. He will send out salt for the purpose of curing what fish can be taken there. He apprehends considerable difficulty in the article of barrels.

You will, no doubt, before this reaches you, hear of the arrival of twelve British ships in our bay, under Graves and Arbuthnot. Seven of them are of the line, two 50's, the others smaller. They are said to have fallen in with the French fleet destined for the same place just off the capes, and to have had a partial engagement in which neither suffered the loss of a ship or other material injury.

I apprehend our plans against Arnold will fall to the ground. I am, etc., etc.

TO GENERAL GREENE.

IN COUNCIL, MARCH 24, 1781.

SIR,—I do myself the honor of inclosing to you some resolutions of general assembly on the subject of the horses procured and to be procured for the first and third regiments of cavalry, in the execution of which I shall need your assistance. Representations were made by the conduct of the persons who were, or pretended to be, entrusted with the execution of the impress warrants, which I had inclosed to you, very unfavorably to them. They are said to have transgressed extremely, not only by exceeding the tract of country to which the warrants were restrained, but in the kind of horses on which they seized. This produced the resolutions of March 7th, the first of which is no doubt become unnecessary, as I suppose the departure of the enemy from this State, and their present tendency renders nugatory, warrants which were restrained to the neighborhood and probable route of the enemy. I should otherwise ask the favor of you to issue your orders for the discontinuance of impresses under those warrants altogether. The second resolution of the same date obliges me to trouble you with ordering the several persons who have been employed in these impresses to make a report of their proceedings therein, which may be done by way of calendar under these heads, to wit: 1st The species of horse impressed, that

is whether a stone horse, gelding or brood mare. 2d. A description by the size, age, and general appearance, which latter circumstance I would only wish to have designated by such short terms as those "fine," "indifferent," etc., etc. 3d. The sum at which estimated. 4th. Whose property. 5th. In what county inpressed. 6th. By whom impressed. 7th. To what purpose applied.

This, I apprehend, will answer most of the purposes which the general assembly had in view. Should there have been any other circumstances in the conduct of these gentlemen which would become proper subjects of enquiry, they can only be gathered from those who would be interested in producing them. On view of such a report yourself also will be enabled to judge which particular horses, according to the same resolution, must be returned to their owners.

Before it will be in our power to proceed in the execution of the resolution of March 17th I must give you the trouble of procuring me information what number of horses will be wanting to fill up the two regiments after withdrawing such of the impress horses as are, by the resolution before mentioned, to be returned. It would be the wish of the Executive to appropriate a certain portion of the money for the purchase of these, and that this should be laid out by persons of your own appointment if it would be agreeable to you. I am, etc., etc.

TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

IN COUNCIL, March 28, 1781.

SIR,—Colonel Senf handed me a list of entrenching tools and other necessaries for the operations against Portsmouth. Notwithstanding present appearances, I shall have them proceed. I apprehend we shall be obliged to have many of them made at Fredericksburg.

Mr. Walker delivered me your wish to have seamen procured for manning the armed vessels. I know of no method of effecting this but by draughting from the lower militia such men as are used to the water. Should this weaken the body of militia too much we can have them reinforced by other militia, but perhaps the arrival of the fleet and transports of the enemy may have rendered our plans against Portsmouth desperate; in which case economy would require the immediate discharge of the private vessels now retained at the expense and risk. I shall discharge all of them except the three largest, and as to them await your opinion. Captain Maxwell is at present, and for some time will be, at the shipyard on Chickahominy endeavoring to withdraw the vessels and stores from that place into James river. He will there receive any others you may wish to have executed within the naval department. When he shall have effected the business on which he is there engaged, I will take care to make known

to you the station he takes, and that it be convenient to your situation.

We are now calling for militia as stated below, to relieve those who have had so very long a tour. They will probably begin to come in within a fortnight, and be all in within four weeks. These of the counties of Loudoun, Fauquier, Prince William, Fairfax, Spotsylvania, Caroline and Culpeper, some of whom are already in and some coming under calls issued some little time ago are meant to be retained, and with those stated below to constitute the force of the ensuing two or three months. We are the more anxious to relieve the militia who have been so long in the field because, during their absence the act for raising new levies is suspended in their counties

Captain Reid's troop of horse is just arrived here from guarding the Saratoga prisoners, in which business it has been employed for eighteen months past. They came under an order which was meant to carry them into immediate service below, but Captain Reid reports them to me as totally unfit for service from poverty, sore back and broken saddles. I, therefore, have thought it best to send them to Port Royal to refit, as there is at that place a plenty of forage which cannot be brought forward for the use of either army, and they will be convenient to Fredericksburg where their equipments may be effected.

I have the pleasure to inclose you a letter of

the 23d, from General Greene, and am, with sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, Sir, yours, etc., etc.,

Hampshire	242	Berkeley	250
Shenandoah	257	Frederick	267
Orange	140	Stafford	113
Louisa	140	King George	114
Essex	107		
			1598

TO BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, April 3, 1871.

SIR,—No term having been fixed by the Executive for the service of the militia, I do not know whence it could have been collected that it was within ten days of expiring. Nevertheless it is most certain they would have been relieved long e'er this had it not been for the enterprise meditated against Portsmouth. It was thought too dangerous to change the whole body of militia at that critical juncture. The moment that object was laid aside we called for militia from the counties named in the margin, who with those before called from Loudoun, Fauquier, Fairfax, Prince William, Spotsylvania, Caroline and Culpeper were intended to constitute the force acting in the field the succeeding two or three months, discharging all others as fast as they should come in. From these calls

we expected twenty-seven hundred men, the number you had desired to keep up while nothing offensive was meditated. Of all this we gave notice to the Marquis Lafayette, the then commanding officer. Considering the unusually long tour the riflemen and other militia below have served, I think every acknowledgment of their patient service just, and every encouragement necessary to keep them contentedly till the arrival of the reliefs ordered from the counties in the margin. I suppose we are not to expect the men till the middle of the month, and that it will be the last of the month before all get in. We take for granted you will be pleased always to notify the executive the number of men you think requisite in the field, which may enable them to give orders for them on the proper counties, I am, etc., etc.

Hampshire	242	Stafford	113
Berkeley	250	Louisa	140
Frederick	267	King George	114
Shenandoah	217	Essex	107
Orange	140		
			1598

TO GENERAL MUHLENBERG.

In Council, April 3, 1781.

Sir,—The men under your command who have been in the field from the beginning of the invasion,

having served a tour of duty unusually long, I am anxious to have them satisfied of the accidents which have as yet prevented their relief. Others would have been ordered in their places long e'er this, had it not been for the enterprise meditated against Portsmouth. The changing the whole militia was thought too dangerous an operation at that critical time. They know the circumstances which occasioned this enterprise to be laid aside. The moment the arrival of a reinforcement to the enemy obliged us to discontinue our intentions, a body of militia was called for to relieve them, from the counties which had not yet been in service. I state to you in the margin[1] the whole of them. The six counties first named were called on to aid the operations against Portsmouth. It was meant, however, that they shall be kept with the nine last named to serve a full tour and constitute the opposing force, discharging all others as fast as these came in, and first those which have been longest in the field. I must solicit your most exact attention to the return of all public arms and accoutrements and ammunition put into the hands of militia, whenever they shall be discharged. No man should be discharged till he does this or gives a satisfactory account of their loss or expenditure.

[1] Loudoun, 168; Fauquier, 292; Fairfax, 200; Prince William, 185; Spotsylvania, 120; Caroline, 260; Culpeper, 352; Hampshire, 242; Berkeley, 258; Frederick, 267; Shenandoah, 217; Orange, 140; Stafford, 113; Louisa, 140; King George, 114; Essex, 107—3075.

I think myself very particularly obliged to acknowledge the patient service of those who have been so long from home, and am anxious that they should know that this has not proceeded from any previous intention in government, but from the circumstances before explained. I hope they will be relieved in a very few days, and that in the meantime they will fill up the measure of merit by continuing to restrain the excursions of the enemy till others can come to succeed to those duties. I beg leave to have these matters particularly explained to Colonel Matthews and Bouyer, and through them to their men, who, I believe, have been longest from home. I am, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, April 6, 1781.

SIR,—The Executive have had it much at heart to prevent, as far as possible, interruption in raising the new levies while they were constrained to bring a number of militia into the field. For this reason about one-half of the counties in the northern part of the State were not called on for militia till they had time to go through their draught. This being done by them, they have been all of them (except those laying much exposed on the bay and lower parts of the rivers) required to send one-fourth of their militia to relieve those of the southern counties now in the field.

Those amounted but to the number of three thousand and seventy-five, and we had wished as soon as they could be in, and the southern counties discharged, to set those southern counties to raising their new levies, and leave them undisturbed during that operation, which would employ them two months. This plan has, however, been broken on by a requisition from General Greene of fifteen hundred militia, which obliged us to call on eleven of those counties. Anxious as we are to favor the raising the new levies we would not sacrifice to it the manifest safety of the State, and will, therefore, call for from them any number of militia you shall think requisite to act defensively in this State.

Major Nelson's third troop came here, and Captain Reid reported them totally unfit for service, from poverty, sore backs, etc. I, therefore, ordered them to Port Royal to recruit their horses and to have their equipments repaired at Fredericksburg, of which I informed the Marquis Fayette. Perhaps the quarter-master in that quarter might best judge whether Armand's corps could be accommodated and fed there also, or whether there be any better place in his district. I am, etc., etc.

TO MAJOR-GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

IN COUNCIL, April 5, 1781.

SIR,—It was formerly usual to require from the Continental staff officers in this State, warrants

from Congress for all moneys advanced to them. Since the war has been transferred to the southward, the calls for money have been so apparently indispensable that we could not await warrants from Congress as had been before practised on draughts from yourself or Major General Gates, to whom authority to draw for money was given. Nevertheless we think it essential to obtain your sanction of the moneys after payment of them, for which purpose I take the liberty of troubling you with Major Claiborne's receipt for some moneys from the State, which were ordered without any previous authority from a sense of their necessity.

It is not in our power to produce you the £5,000 hard money which you desired, but we have put into the hands of Major Claiborne a warrant for half a million of pounds current money to be liable to your order only. Perhaps you can find means to have the hard money purchased in Philadelphia for money to be paid here.

That you may form some idea of the indiscretions which have occasioned a dissatisfaction in the impresses of horses, I inclose you copies of two papers lodged with me against a Mr. Rudder employed in that business. Instead of soothing the minds of the people, and softening the harsh act of taking their valuable horses by force, it has been frequently accompanied, as we are informed, by defiances of the civil power, and circumstances of personal irritation.

As tedious as is the operation of reasoning with every individual on whom we are obliged to exercise disagreeable powers, yet free people think they have a right to an explanation of the circumstances which give rise to the necessity under which they suffer. Such has been the general irritation under these impresses that we have been obliged to authorize the county lieutenants to restrain them under the directions of the resolutions of the assembly I formerly inclosed you. I am, etc., etc.

TO COLONEL HENRY LEE.

IN COUNCIL, April 13, 1781.

SIR,—I am exceedingly sorry to hear that the counties on Potomac are so much harassed by the enemy, and am very apprehensive it will continue some time until our allies can clear us of them, which I hope and expect.

The act of assembly referred to in your letter as authorizing the Executive to raise militia cavalry, only gave that authority where there was reason to apprehend a meeting against the late draught. Upon this apprehension we authorized the raising a troop for the two counties of Northumberland and Lancaster, and nowhere else. We wish exceedingly that we had a power of doing it, because it would be the most effective protection to the exposed counties which could be given them by land. All we can venture to do is, if you can

make use of a party of militia not exceeding the number of a troop as mounted infantry, finding their own horses, we may order forage to be found them while on actual duty, but in every other respect they must be considered as militia for this purpose. I inclose you an order to Mr. McMillan, deputy to Mr. Brown in your county. I am, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, April 14, 1781.

SIR,—As so much of the subject of Colonel Davies' letter as relates to the conduct of the Continental issuing commissary general in this State lies within your powers of reformation altogether, I take the liberty of handing on the letter to you. It is very interesting to us that the provisions issued for Continental use be issued to persons authorized to give proper vouchers for debiting the continent, and I entertain no doubt but that you will be so kind as to have this branch of business so arranged. In the meantime it might have an ill effect to stop the issue at so early a day as the one proposed, as within that space it might not perhaps be practicable to have the necessary arrangements made. I also inclose you copies of letters just come to hand from the President of Congress. I wish this intelligence may not stop the Pennsylvania Line, and leave General Greene to depend still on this State and Maryland alone. As to ourselves,

it is our wish to act on the defensive only in this State, and not to stop a single regular till General Greene should be made sufficiently superior to his enemy. I am, etc., etc.

P. S. I think in conversation you mentioned that you should store the spare arms and military stores from General Muhlenberg's camp at Prince George Court House. As the depredations of the enemy on Potomac have stopped a considerable part of the militia we had relied on to reinforce General Muhlenberg, so that we are obliged to call on other counties, he will probably continue some time too weak to oppose the enemy. This seems to render it essential that the stores above-mentioned be withdrawn out of reach.

Prince George Court House being but four miles from the river, I submit it to you whether, on the prospect of our reinforcements being tardy, a more interior situation would not be better.

TO THE COUNTY LIEUTENANTS OF FAUQUIER, LOUDOUN, CAROLINE, ALBEMARLE, FLUVANNA, GOOCHLAND, AND HENRICO.

RICHMOND, April 14, 1781.

SIR,—I am to desire you to send ——— of your militia under proper officers, with such good arms as they have, and especially rifles, to rendezvous at Williamsburg on the first day of May, and to continue in service two months from the time of

their getting to the rendezvous. As circumstances may render it necessary to change the rendezvous, you will be pleased to order them by the way of ——— where they will receive final orders on that head.

You are at liberty to deduct from the above number any delinquents whom you may send with them under sentence to serve six months or any longer time for having failed to obey former calls, or deserting from duty. Should any individuals you shall call for fail to attend at the time you appoint for their meeting in your county, so as to ascertain a deficiency in the above number, you will be pleased immediately to call for that deficiency from the next divisions, and will take measures for sentencing and sending on such new delinquents for six months, and so from time to time on every call. I am, etc., etc.

P. S. to the letters to Fauquier and Loudoun.—Your men now in the field below are to be discharged the moment those above called for arrive there.

P. S. to the letter to Goochland.—You will also be pleased to deduct from the above number the forty men furnished by your county to guard prisoners to Winchester.

P. S. to the letter to Henrico.—You will be pleased to deduct from the above number so many men as you have furnished within those two months as guards, etc., for which we promised you a credit, excepting those also who having been appointed to guard the boats, deserted and left them.

Fauquier	252	Loudoun	407
Albemarle	204	Fluvanna	70
Goochland	129	Henrico	145
Caroline	245		

TO THE HONORABLE RICHARD HENRY LEE.

RICHMOND, April 16, 1781.

SIR,—We are very sorry that it is out of our power to furnish you with cartridge paper and lead. The former article has been entirely exhausted from our magazines by the Southern and Eastern armies. Your express receives five hundred flints, and should have had powder but that we think it better you should purchase the two or three barrels you propose and draw on the Executive for payment, which shall be made.

The returns of military stores having been lost we do not know, by recollection, that there are either ball or grape-shot belonging to the public at Fredericksburg: if there be and you can inform me of it, and in the meantime prevail on the person in whose possession it is to deliver a proper quantity to you, I will send him the approbation of the Executive, or if you can buy we will pay for it. Our last news from the south was of the sixth instant when Lord Cornwallis was near Wilmington and General Greene setting out on his march from Deep river for South Carolina.

Phillips commands in Portsmouth, his whole

force twenty-five hundred. I think you may rely from the intelligence we have had that no land force from thence in the vessels are distressing at Potomac.

P. S. The advertisement shall be published.

TO GENERAL MUHLENBERG.

RICHMOND, April 16, 1781.

SIR,—I have duly received the letter of the 7th instant from Mr. Constable, written by command from you, and am sorry to hear of your indisposition, which I hope this will find you relieved from. I expect three hundred and fifty men from Culpeper have joined you before this date. They are to continue till the 14th of June.

The militia from Frederick, Hampshire, Berkeley, Shenandoah, Orange and Louisa ought now to be coming in, and are to continue till the last of June with a right to retain them a week longer to await reliefs. We have, by letters sent by express yesterday, called militia as follows: Fauquier 252, Loudoun 407, Caroline 245, Albemarle 204, Fluvanna 70, Goochland 89, Henrico about 100, who are required to be in the field May 1st, and to continue there till the last day of June or 7th of July, if the reliefs should not arrive sooner. We are thus endeavoring to get our militia to a fixed term of two months in the field to be relieved all together between this and the 1st of May.

I cannot but apprehend dangers which are not in our power to prevent. So slow are the militia in moving that none newly called could be expected sooner than those from Frederick, Hampshire, Berkeley, Shenandoah, Orange and Louisa who were called for March 27th.

The embarkation from New York under Sir Henry Clinton is pretty certainly known to be destined to take post at New Castle on Delaware. I am, etc., etc.

TO JOHN PAGE.

IN COUNCIL, April 18, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of the 13th desiring a suspension of the act for raising new levies has been duly received and laid before the board.

They think they cannot with any propriety suspend an act after the terms are all past by which it should have been carried into execution. It would only answer the end of a remission of penalties, which would be an abuse of the suspending power given them by the latter act. The circumstances which produced that law were that the militia of half of the State had been called from counties on the invasion on very distant and long services. The neglect of the commissioners which had prevented the assessment from being returned is a reason which, as it did not enter the ideas of the legislature, could by no means justify us in sus-

pending the law. Under these circumstances I should suppose it best to take up the law as soon as they shall have done their duty and get through it as soon as you can. The men are exceedingly wanting indeed, and if not produced generally as we had a right to expect, it will be impossible for us to enable General Greene to prevent his antagonist from treading back his steps. I am, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

IN COUNCIL, April 20, 1781.

SIR,—I take the liberty of inclosing to you a letter to Major-General Phillips with the determination of the Board of War as to the British flag-vessel with necessaries for the convention prisoners, which I will ask the favor of you to forward by flag. I presume it is neces ary prudence to put an officer and pilot of our own on board. This has been the practice here and if you approve of it you will be so good as to appoint an officer to this service. The inclosed letter to Commodore Barron the officer will take with him for the purpose of obtaining a pilot. I inclose you copies of letters which have this moment come to hand. We can arm about two hundred militia here. The rest must depend on the arms which have been given in by the discharged militia. You will be so good as to give orders on this subject, accom-

modated to the several places of their rendezvous, and determining whether the arms shall be brought to the men, or they marched to the arms. I am, etc., etc.

TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

RICHMOND, April 23, 1781.

SIR,—I had the pleasure yesterday to receive your favor of the 17th instant, and am very happy that the Southern States are to have the benefit of your aid. On the 18th instant the enemy came from Portsmouth, and (as in the following letter to the President of Congress to the words Little River on the 11th) we still consider his as the interesting scene of action to us. As long as we can keep him superior to his antagonist we have little to fear in this country; whenever he shall be obliged to retire before Lord Cornwallis and to bring him also into this State our situation will become dangerous. North as well as South Carolina, being once in the hands of the enemy, may become the instruments of our subjugation, and effect what the enemy themselves cannot. The British force may harass and distress us greatly, but the Carolinas alone can subdue us. The militia of North is very nearly as numerous as that of this State. Out of that our enemy will be able to raise great armies. We, therefore, think it our first interest to keep them under in that quarter,

considering the war in our own country but as a secondary object. For this reason we mean to send our new levies for the regular army to General Greene as fast as they shall be raised, acting with our militia on the defensive only, in this State.

I shall do myself the pleasure of communicating further to you the future movements of the enemy with us, and occurrances to the southward also, as far as they shall become known to me. I am, etc., etc.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF WAR.

In Council, April 23, 1781.

Sir,—Colonel Wood has applied to us to take measures for furnishing provisions and building barracks for the convention prisoners at Winchester. Neither of these can be effected without considerable sums of money, either advanced or to be paid within some reasonable time, and I am sorry to be obliged to inform you it is not in our power to do either. Such are the calls on us for money for the Southern army and for the army in our county, that our efforts are exhausted in complying with a part only of these, and I am firmly persuaded that could our advances and exertions for the continent be stated to you, you would be sensible that no call either for men, money or provisions on account of these prisoners should be made on us. While we were in tolerable quiet,

and our neighbors under difficulties, we cheerfully took on us the support and guard of these troops; but when we have a war on our western, southern and eastern quarters, which keeps our existence in daily question, we cannot withdraw from that a single exertion, nor deceive you by giving you a hope—a hope of our being able to support these prisoners in which we should surely fail. I am, etc., etc.

TO BARON STEUBEN.

RICHMOND, April 26, 1781.

SIR,—An officer from Cumberland, having called on me this morning, to direct what should be done with his unarmed men, I took the liberty by him, of stating to you the order in which I thought the militia should be discharged. I did this hastily while he was waiting, and must now, on more mature reflection, beg leave to correct in some degree, what I then wrote, and to take up the whole subject.

One-fourth of the militia of the counties of Fauquier, Loudoun, Caroline, Albemarle, Fluvanna, Goochland, Henrico, Culpeper, Frederick, Hampshire, Berkeley, Shenandoah, Orange and Louisa, are still relied on for the service of May and June, as I informed you in a letter of the 19th intsant, as is also Spotsylvania, which at the time of writing that letter we expected would have been stopped

by the enemy's going up Potomac. These not being come in, and the enemy approaching, we called for the whole of Prince George, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Powhatan, Henrico, Hanover, Goochland and half of Cumberland and Amelia, to form an opposition until the counties first named should get in. Whenever, therefore, the business of discharging may be commenced, the following is the order in which we would wish discharges to be given: First, Prince George, Dinwiddie, and Chesterfield, because exposed and their draught not over; next, Powhatan, because somewhat exposed, and their draught not over; then Cumberland, Amelia and Hanover, because their draught is not over, lastly, Henrico and Goochland, except the fourth-men to be kept during the months of May and June.

I must beg the favor of you to consider this as altogether superseding my first letter of this date on the same subject. It is possible that a change of position by the enemy, by exposing counties now considered as safe, and rendering those safe which are now exposed, may induce a change in this arrangement. Should this happen, I will take the liberty of noting it to you.

I am very sorry that we have discharged several hundreds of the Hanover militia before we had considered the subject, and settled the order in which discharges should be given. As it has so happened, we think it better not to recall them. I am, etc., etc.

TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

RICHMOND, May 6, 1781.

SIR,—Two persons have applied to me on behalf of a certain John Allison, citizen, under confinement, as they say, at camp for some offence.

Though perfectly satisfied that nothing will be done under your order but what is right, and assuring them of the same, yet I have not been able to get clear of their solicitation without a letter from you, asking a favor of a communication of the case and proceedings before any punishment should take place. I am sorry to add this to the many troubles you have, but they have urged it to me on the footing of duty so as to put it out of my power to decline it. I have the favor, etc., etc.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON AND THE HONORABLE VIRGINIA DELEGATES IN CONGRESS.

IN COUNCIL, May 10, 1781.

SIR,—The papers of the Executive having been almost wholly lost in the visit which was made by General Arnold to this place, we are endeavoring to procure copies of as many of them as we can. As the correspondence with [1]*your Excellency* is among the most important, I am to solicit the favor of you to permit the bearer hereof, Mr. Gran-

[1] Congress.

ville Smith, to take copies of any letters with which [1]*you* have been pleased to honor the Executive, or have received from them previous to the commencement of the present year. Besides the general importance of preserving the memorial of public events, it is natural for those who have had a share in the administration to wish that under every possible circumstance the records of their proceedings may guard them against misrepresentation or mistake. Mr. Smith has been particularly chosen to execute this office because of his approved discretion, and we think ourselves safe in assuring you that he may confidentially be relied on. I have, etc., etc.

In the letter to the Delegates alter as in the margin.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT REID.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 22, 1781.

SIR,—Your Excellency's favor of the 6th instant came to hand yesterday. The movement of the enemy since I did myself the honor of writing to your Excellency on the subject of our joint boundary, having rendered it necessary, in the opinion of the general assembly, for them to adjourn to this place; the Executive have, of course, come hither for a time; this has placed us at a great distance from Mr. Madison and Mr. Andrews, two of the com-

[1] They or you.

missioners appointed for the purpose of running the boundary. These gentlemen also unfortunately reside in Washington, a place supposed to be an object with the enemy, and I am not without fear that this new circumstance will create difficulties in the time of their attendance. I shall immediately dispatch an express to them with a communication of your Excellency's, and will, on receipt of their answer, do myself again the honor of writing to you. In the meantime as there remains three weeks between this and the 12th of June, the day proposed by your Excellency for the meeting of the commissioners, as a part of this will be explained before I can receive a letter from our commissioners, and it is probable that they have to provide for the safety of their family before their departure, I will beg leave to consider it as your Excellency's desire that as early a day as possible after that may be fixed, and to take the liberty of communicating the earliest at which they may be able to attend, according to the answer I shall receive from them. I have the honor to be, etc.

TO MAJOR RICHARD CLAIBORNE.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 23, 1781.

SIR,—Your letters of the 10th and 19th instants came to hand yesterday. Experience has for sometime past convinced the Council that, as the mode of acquiring wagons, horses, etc., by impress is

the most irritating, so it is the most expensive which can be adopted. They, therefore, have meant to discontinue impresses, and to have purchases made whenever a delay can be permitted, and, indeed, it is questionable, where necessity obliges the public to have an article on the spot, whether any price which the owner would ask to part with it voluntarily would not be less than appraisers would rate it at.

In answer, therefore, to your letter, I can only advise your procuring the necessaries required by purchase. In a conversation I had with Mr. Lyne I mentioned the necessity of paying your warrants as quickly as possible. He was sensible of it, and I dare say will pay it as soon as he has as much money. I am, etc.

TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 29, 1781.

SIR,—I am honored with your favor of the 26th, as I have been by one of the day before from Colonel John Walker, who informed me that he wrote at your request on the subject of horses. I have now the pleasure to inclose to you eight impress warrants, accompanied with resolutions of the House of Delegates, which I obtained yesterday, and to inform you that as soon as the other branch of the legislature is convened, I believe they are disposed to strengthen you with cavalry to any

amount you think proper, and with good horses as you shall think economy should induce you to take. Stud horses and brood mares will be always excepted, because to take them would be to rip up the hen which laid the golden eggs.

I am sorry that it has not been in your power to send me the county returns of militia. I assure you that such returns weekly are indispensably necessary to enable the Executive to keep militia in the field. I did, however, on receiving information from Colonel Walker that the enemy were reinforced, call for one-fourth of the militia of Washington, Montgomery, Botetourt, Rockbridge, Augusta, Rockingham and Amherst, which (the last excepted) are our best rifle counties. They will rendezvous at Charlottesville and there expect your orders.

Baron Steuben informed me also that only two men were employed in repairing the damaged arms. I am at a loss what to think on this subject, as I have received assurance that one hundred a week are repaired there, and that very shortly they will be enabled to repair one hundred and fifty a week. I will take immediate measures for procuring a state of the repairs.

I sincerely and anxiously wish that you may be enabled to prevent Lord Cornwallis from engaging you till you shall be sufficiently reinforced and be able to engage him on your own terms. This may be the case when your superiority in cavalry shall

become decided, which I have the most sanguine hopes the assembly will immediately provide for. In the meantime the upper country will afford you a secure retreat, presenting hills inaccessible to horses approaching them and to this most dangerous enemy, the riflemen.

I will take the liberty of recommending to you that the two field officers to be appointed for valuing the impressed horses be skilled in the business, and that the same two may go through the whole business, that all may be valued on the same scale. Also that officers of mild and condescending tempers and manners be employed, and particularly instructed, while they prosecute their object, steadily to use every soothing art possible.

A high tone of conduct will, as it did in a former instance, revolt the people against the measure altogether, and produce the suppression of it. I have the honor to be, etc.

TO THE COUNTY LIEUTENANTS OF YORK, NEW KENT, HANOVER, GLOUCESTER, KING AND QUEEN, KING WILLIAM, MIDDLESEX, ESSEX, CAROLINE, SPOTSYLVANIA, LANCASTER, RICHMOND, KING GEORGE, NORTHUMBERLAND, WESTMORELAND, STAFFORD, PRINCE WILLIAM, FAIRFAX, LOUDOUN AND BERKELEY.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 29, 1781.

SIR,—Information having been given me that a considerable number of men have deserted from

the French army and navy in America, which the commanding officers are very urgent to have apprehended, I must desire you to give orders at the several ferries in your county, that all foreigners offering to cross at them, and having the appearance of soldiers or seamen, be examined with great strictness, and if there be good reason to believe them to be deserters, that they then be delivered to such persons as you shall appoint to guard them till you can have an opportunity by militia or otherwise, to send them, with a state of the circumstances of suspicion, to the headquarters of Major-General the Marquis Lafayette. I am, etc.

TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 30, 1781.

SIR,—Mr. Maury informs me there is reason to expect from Lord Cornwallis a permission to export to Charleston tobacco for our officers and soldiers in captivity there. As you have been fully appraised of what has been done heretofore, and a negotiation for the relief of officers and soldiers of the Continental Line, which you have honored by accepting the command, seems agreeably reconciled to your office and humanity. I will beg leave to inform you that the State will provide as far as nine hundred hogsheads of tobacco to be sent to Charleston, for the above purpose, and to ask the favor of you to negotiate with Lord Cornwallis for the

license. The distance of the Executive from his Lordship is an additional reason for asking this favor of you. Mr. Maury will lend any aid in his power to promote this business, and is still recommended as a proper person to attend the tobacco to Charleston. I have the honor to be, etc.

TO MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 30, 1781.

SIR,—I inclosed to General Phillips a passport for the British flag vessel, the General Reidseel, and declined it to Captain Innes who called on me for that purpose by order of Major-General Baron Steuben, and was to have accompanied the vessel to and from her port of destination.

The movements of the enemy and uncertainty where General Phillips was then to be found delayed his going till you had arrived. I think Baron Steuben afterward informed me you would be so kind as to send in the letter by a flag and an officer to go with the vessel.

The inclosed letter from Mr. Miles King, written at the request of Captain Gerlach, the flagmaster, I take the liberty of transmitting to you by the person who brought it, who is returning to Mr. King, and will carry any line of information with which you will be so kind as to favor him. I am, etc.

TO THE SURVEYOR OF THE COUNTY OF MONONGALIA.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, June 3, 1781.

SIR,—It having become impracticable to settle the boundary between this State and Pennsylvania by astronomical observations during the present season, it is referred by mutual consent till the next year. In the meantime it is agreed that Mason's and Dixon's line shall be extended twenty-three miles with a surveyor's compass, only in the usual manner, marking the trees very slightly. I am, therefore, to desire you to undertake to do this in connection with such person as shall be appointed by his Excellency President Reid, and report your work to the Executive. We shall rely on your engaging chain-carriers, markers, etc., the expense of which shall be paid by the public. I am, etc.

Voting the Declaration of Independence

Reproduction from an unfinished Engraving by Edward Savage.

The picture divides itself into three groups—in the centre the committee presenting the draft to President Hancock, on the right a group of eight, on the left a group of seventeen. The members of the Committee, from left to right, are R. R. Livingston, Roger Sherman, John Adams, Jefferson and Franklin. Hancock is seated behind the table, facing to the front, with Secretary Thomson seated at his right. In the group on the right, the figure seated with his back to the spectator is Charles Carroll, and the man with his hat on, who is standing to the right, is Stephen Hopkins. Among the others in this group are George Read, Hopkinson, Wolcott, and Witherspoon. In the group on the left, the seated figure with a cane is Robert Morris, and in the background are Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Edward Rutledge, Philip Livingston, Benjamin Rush, Thomas Stone, George Ross, and James Wilson. One of the first trial proofs of this engraving is in the Emmet collection, framed and hanging in the Exhibition Room of the Lenox Library, New York. The reproduction presented herewith was made from this impression, which shows that a number of the faces were left unfinished, and consequently appear entirely blank. The engraved copper-plate itself was presented by Samuel T. Snow, of Boston, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in November, 1859, as the work of an unknown artist. It was stated that it had been left, many years ago, by a party of play-actors, in payment of their board, with an inn-keeper, who, after keeping it for twenty years, brought it to Boston. The Lenox Library acknowledges its indebtedness to Mr. Charles Henry Hart, of Philadelphia, an authority on American art, for the name of the artist who made the engraving. Mr. Hart discovered that it was engraved by Edward Savage, and left unfinished by him at the time of his death, July 6, 1817. The original picture, from which the engraving of the same size is copied, has been recently acquired by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is of such recognized significance that it is being used as a guide to the restoration of Independence Hall. The painting was begun by Robert Edge Pine, left unfinished by him at his death, November 19, 1788, purchased from his widow by Bowen and Savage, for the New York Museum, and finished by the latter. Pine called the painting "The American Congress Voting Independence."

MANUSCRIPTS

FROM

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA COLLECTION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

It will be readily admitted, after due examination, that the "Minutes" of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, under the rectorship of its father and founder, Thomas Jefferson, are far more interesting than the mere reports of similar business meetings. They contain an account of the actual growth of that famous institution,—the practical suggestions for the erection of the buildings, the plans and organization for the various academic departments, the adoption of educational theories and innovations and, in short, the establishment of a centre of learning as fulfilled to-day in the University of Virginia,

This fulfillment had been the heart's desire of its founder for many years before his death, and he wished to have its accomplishment engraved in the epitaph on his tombstone, together with the record of his services as the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Statute for Religious Freedom in Virginia.

Associated with Jefferson on the Board of Visitors were James Madison, James Monroe, Joseph C. Cabell, James Breckenridge, David Watson and J. H. Cocke. All of them were intensely interested in the erection of a State University along the lines conceived by Jefferson. Joseph C. Cabell, then a member of the Virginia Senate, was especially enthusiastic and supported in the legislature what Jefferson planned in the privacy of his study. It was due to the tireless efforts of Cabell, stimulated by Jefferson, that the State government ultimately expended $300,000 for the construction of the University and appropriated $15,000 a year toward its maintenance.

The correspondence between Jefferson and Cabell on the subject of the early history of the University of Virginia was published in an octavo volume in 1856, and is now very rare. Its appendix contains some of the material given in the following pages, but the proportion is small compared to the aggregate matter printed herewith for the first time. The "Minutes" given in the present instance embrace a period of nine years, the last entry having been dated only three months before Jefferson's death.

Not alone did Jefferson outline the process of education for his University, but he also planned its architecture. He superintended each detail of the construction, engaging workmen, buying bricks and choosing the trees to be used for timber. The institution was opened during the month of March, 1825. The first year began with forty students but this number had increased to almost two hundred by the beginning of the second term. The University still bears the impress of Jefferson's mind to the extent that it has no president,—this position being filled by a chairman elected from among the professors; that it bestows no honors and no rewards, and that attendance at religious services is entirely voluntary. Thus the student is placed upon his principles as a citizen and upon his honor as a man.

The "Minutes" presented in this collection are taken from a time-worn book in the possession of the University of Virginia. Most of the entries are in the firm handwriting of Jefferson—another proof of his indefatigability as a penman. For access to the book and for the privilege of reproducing its contents, credit is due to the authorities of the University, and especially to Dr. Charles W. Kent.

AN EXACT TRANSCRIPT

OF THE

Minutes of the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, during the Rectorship of Thomas Jefferson.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the Central College held at Charlottesville, on the 5th day of May, 1817, on a call by three members, to wit: John Hartwell Cocke, Joseph C. Cabell and Thomas Jefferson. Present, James Monroe, James Madison, John H. Cocke and Thomas Jefferson.

The records of the trustees of the Albermarle Academy, in lieu of which the Central College is established, were received from their secretary by the hands of Alex. Garrett, one of the said trustees.

Resolved, that Valentine W. Southall be appointed secretary to the Board, and that the records be delivered to him.

The Board proceeded to the appointment of a proctor, and the said Alexander Garrett was appointed, with a request that he will act as treasurer also until a special appointment can be made.

The Board being informed that at a meeting which had been proposed for the 8th day of April last at Charlottesville, and at which the three members only, who called this present meeting had attended, the said members had visited and examined the different sites for the college within a convenient distance around Charlottesville, had deemed the one offered them by John Perry about a mile above the town to be the most suitable, and offered on the most reasonable terms, and had provisionally authorized a purchase of certain parcels thereof for the site of the said college and its appendages, and the members now present having themselves proceeded to the said grounds, examined them and considered the terms of the said provisional purchase, do now approve of the said grounds as a site for the said college and its appendages, and of the terms of purchase, which they hereby confirm and ratify. And they accordingly authorize their proctor above named to proceed to a regular conveyance thereof to himself and his successors in trust for the said college.

The act establishing the Central College having transferred to the same all the rights and claims existing in the Albemarle Academy and its trustees, and having in aid of the subscriptions and donations, obtained or to be obtained, and of the proceeds of the lottery authorized by law, specially empowered this college, by its proper officers, to demand and receive the moneys which arose from the sales of

the glebe lands of the parishes of St. Anne and Fredericksville, or such part thereof as belongs to the county of Albemarle or its citizens, in whatever hands they may be, to be employed for the purposes of this college, ordered that the proctor enquire into the state of said property, and report the same to this Board; and that in the meantime, he be authorized to demand and receive so much of the said moneys as may be requisite to pay for the land purchased from the said John Perry, and to make payment accordingly.

In view of a plan presented to the trustees of the Albemarle Academy for erecting a distinct pavilion or building for each separate professorship, and for arranging these around a square, each pavilion containing a school-room and two apartments for the accommodation of the professor, with reasonable conveniences, the Board determined that one of these pavilions shall now be erected; and they request the proctor, so soon as the funds are at his command, to agree with proper workmen for the building of one of stone or brick below ground, and of brick above, of substantial work, of regular architecture, well executed, and to be completed, if possible, during the ensuing summer and winter; that the lot for the said pavilions be delineated on the ground of the breadth of —— feet with two parallel sides of indefinite length, and that the pavilion first to be erected be placed on one of the lines so delineated, with its floor in

such degree of elevation from the ground as may correspond with the regular inclined plane to which it may admit of being reduced hereafter.

And it is further resolved, that so far as the funds may admit, the proctor be requested to proceed to the erection of dormitories for the students adjacent to the said pavilion, not exceeding ten on each side, of brick, and of regular architecture, according to the same plan proposed.

The Board, proceeding to consider the plan of a lottery prepared by the trustees of the Albemarle Academy, approve of the same, and resolve that it be carried into execution and without delay, by the proctor and by such agents as he shall appoint, and that the moneys to be received for tickets by those entrusted with the sale of them, be from time to time, and at short periods, paid into the hands of the proctor, and by him deposited in the Bank of Virginia in Richmond, with which bank it is thought expedient that an account should be opened with him in trust for the Central College.

Resolved, that a subscription paper be prepared, and placed in such hands as the proctor shall deem will be most likely to promote it with energy and success, in which shall be different columns, to wit: one for those who may prefer giving a donation in gross, another for those who may be willing to give a certain sum annually for the term of four years, and a third for donations in any other form. And that the moneys subscribed be disposed of as

they are received by the proctor, in the manner above prescribed for those received on the lottery.

Resolved, that Thomas Jefferson and John H. Cocke be a committee on the part of the Visitors with authority, jointly or severally, to advise and sanction all plans and the application of moneys for executing them which may be within the purview and functions of the proctor for the time being.

TH. JEFFERSON,
JAMES MONROE,
JAMES MADISON,
J. H. COCKE.

May 5, 1817.

July 28, 1817.

At a called meeting of the Visitors of the Central College, held at the [1]house of Mr. Madison in Orange, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Hartwell Cocke, and Joseph C. Cabell, being present.

The plan of the first pavilion to be erected, and the proceedings thereupon, having been stated and agreed to,—

It is agreed that application be made to Dr. Knox, of Baltimore, to accept the professorship of languages, belles-lettres, rhetoric, history and geography, and that an independent salary of four hundred dollars, with a perquisite of twenty-five dollars from each pupil, together with chambers for his accommodation, be allowed him as a com-

[1] Montpelier, near Somerset, on the Southern Railway.

pensation for his services, he finding the necessary assistant ushers.

Alexander Garrett requesting to resign the office of proctor, it is agreed that Nelson Barksdale of the county of Albemarle, be appointed his successor.

It is also agreed that it be expedient to import a stone-cutter from Italy, and that Mr. Jefferson be authorized and requested to take requisite measures to effect that object.

JAMES MADISON,
J. H. COCKE,
JOSEPH C. CABELL,
TH. JEFFERSON.

At a meeting of the Visitors held at Charlottesville 7th October, 1817:

On information of the amount of the subscription to the Central College, known to be made, and others understood to be so, the Board resolves, that the pavilion now erecting be completed as heretofore directed, with the twenty dormitories attached to it, and that two other pavilions be contracted for and executed the next year with the same number of dormitories to each; that one of these be appropriated to the professor of languages, belles-lettres, rhetoric, oratory, history and geography, one other to the professor of chemistry, zoology, botany, anatomy; and the third, until otherwise wanted, for a boarding-house, to be kept by some French family of good character, wherein

it is proposed that the boarders shall be permitted to speak French only, with a view to their becoming familiarized to conversation in that language.

The Board is of opinion that the ground for these buildings should be previously reduced to a plain, or to terraces as it shall be found to admit with due regard to expense; that the pavilions be correct in their architecture and execution, and that where the family of a professor requires it, two additional rooms shall be added for their accommodation.

On information that the Reverend Mr. Knox, formerly thought of for a professor of languages, is withdrawn from business, the order of July 20 is rescinded, and it is resolved to offer, in the first place, the professorship of chemistry, etc., to Dr. Thos. Cooper of Pennsylvania, adding to it that of law with a fixed salary of 1,000 dollars and tuition fees of twenty dollars from each of his students, to be paid by them; and to accede also to the conditions stated in his letter of September 16 to Th. Jefferson; and that he be advised with as to a qualified professor of languages; or such other measures be taken to obtain one as shall be found most advisable; that the professor of languages should be engaged to take place on the 1st of April, and Dr. Cooper, as soon as a pavilion for him can be erected, or as he can otherwise accommodate himself with lodgings.

Resolved, that every student shall be required

to pay sixty dollars per annum tuition fees, of which twenty dollars shall be paid to each professor he attends, and the surplus thereof, if any, to remain for the use of the college, and that fifteen dollars be paid moreover for each dormitory by the students occupying them.

Resolved, that any deficiency in the moneys paid or payable by subscription or otherwise, in or before April next, to pay for the pavilions and dormitories, the first year's salaries to the two professors aforesaid and other necessary expenses, shall be obtained, if practicable, by negotiations with the banks on a pledge of the future instalments of subscriptions, and of the college property as security, and that of the latter instalment the sum of 25,000 dollars shall be disposed of as shall hereafter be directed, either to the Commonwealth or the banks of some other safe moneyed institution, or an interest sufficient to pay the annual salaries of the two professors aforesaid forever,

Resolved, that the proctor be authorized to hire laborers for levelling the ground and performing necessary services for the work or other purposes.

James Madison,
James Monroe,
David Watson,
J. H. Cocke,
Jos. C. Cabell,
Th. Jefferson.

October 7, 1817.

At a meeting of the Visitors, 8th October, 1817:

Certain letters from Dr. Thos. Cooper to Th. Jefferson, dated September 17 and 19, received since the meeting of yesterday, being communicated to the Board of Visitors, and taken into consideration with his former letter of September 16, they are of opinion that it will be for the interest of the College to modify the terms of agreement which might be generally proper, so as to accommodate them to the particular circumstances of Dr. Cooper, and to reconcile his interests to an acceptance of the professorship before proposed to him. They, therefore, resolve:

1. That the expenses of transporting his library and collection of minerals to the College shall be reimbursed to him.

2. That, however disposed they would be to purchase for the College his collection of mineral subjects, his philosophical and chemical apparatus, the extent of their funds is as yet too little ascertained to authorize engagements for them; but that an interest of six per cent per annum on a fair valuation should be paid for the use of them in his own hand, until it can be seen that the other more indispensable calls on the funds of the college will leave them competent to the purchase.

And, ultimately, should nothing short of the immediate purchase of these articles be sufficient, then we are of opinion that their purchase be made, and the ready money, if required, be obtained

from the bank as proposed in the resolution of yesterday for other pecuniary deficiencies.

3. That the expense in articles consumed necessarily in a course of chemical lectures shall be defrayed by the College.

4. That the branches of science proposed for Dr. Cooper be varied and accommodated in his case, as it is expected they must be in others, to the particular qualifications of the professor.

5. That the committee of superintendence of the proceedings of the proctor in the execution of his functions heretofore appointed, are authorized to take such measures as they think best for providing the necessary apartments for the use of the chemical and mineralogical purposes.

Resolved, that Alexander Garrett be appointed treasurer for the College.

Joseph C. Cabell,
J. H. Cocke,
James Monroe,
Th. Jefferson, for himself and for James Madison, who assented to all the articles but was obliged to depart before they could be copied and signed.

October 8, 1817.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, May 11, 1818.

At a regular meeting of the Visitors of the Central College, on 11th May, 1818, at which Th. Jefferson, James Madison, John H. Cocke and Joseph C. Cabell were present, it was agreed, that it being uncertain whether Thos. Cooper would accept the professorship of chemistry, in the event of his not doing so, it would be expedient to procure a professor of mathematics. It was also agreed to allow the proctor of the College the sum of two hundred dollars for the present year.

JAMES MADISON,
TH. JEFFERSON,
J. H. COCKE,
JOSEPH C. CABELL.

May 11, 1818.

We, the subscribers, Visitors of the Central College, having been specially called to meet on the 26th day of February, 1819, and authorized by the act of the legislature, now in session, for establishing the University of Virginia, to continue the exercise of our former functions, and to fulfill the duties of our successors, Visitors of the said University, until their first actual meeting, have unanimously agreed on the following opinions and proceedings:

That it is expedient that all the funds of the University applicable to the services of the present

year, which shall remain after meeting all the other current and necessary purposes, shall be applied to the providing additional buildings for the accommodation of the professors, and for dieting and lodging the students of the University.

That the urgency of the advancing season, and the importance of procuring workmen before they become generally otherwise engaged for the season, render it necessary for expediting the objects of the University, that certain measures be forthwith taken, which, if delayed until the first actual meeting of our successors would materially retard those objects.

That taking into view the balance remaining of the funds of the last year, to wit: Of the proceeds of the glebes, and of the first and second instalments of subscriptions, after payment shall have been made of the expenditures of the same year, as also the third instalment of subscriptions payable in April, 1820, and the public endowment of 15,000 dollars for the present year, engagements may be entered into for building, in the approaching season, two more pavilions for the professors, one hotel for dieting the students, and as many additional dormitories for their lodging, with the necessary appendages, as the said funds shall be competent to accomplish: that we approve of the propositions for covering with tin sheets the pavilions and hotels hereafter to be covered, and for bringing water to them by wooden pipes from the neighboring high lands.

That Alexander Garrett, treasurer of the Central College, be continued as the depository of the funds of the institution, with authority to exercise the powers and perform the duties of bursar of the University until otherwise provided.

That to meet the immediate and pressing calls for money, he be authorized to receive from the treasury of the State the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, in part of the public endowment of 15,000 dollars for the present year.

That a copy of these proceedings be laid before the Governor and Council for the exercise of the power of control committed to them by the same act of the legislature, should they think proper to exercise that power on any part of these proceedings.

TH. JEFFERSON,
JAMES MADISON,
J. H. COCKE,
DAVID WATSON.

February 26, 1819.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia at the said University on Monday, the 29th day of March, 1819, being the day prescribed by the Governor for their first meeting, James Madison, Joseph C. Cabell, Chapman Johnson, James Breckenridge, Robert Taylor, John H. Cocke and Thomas Jefferson attended.

The Board proceeding to the duties prescribed

to them by the act of the general assembly, instituted "An act establishing an University," appointed Thomas Jefferson their rector and Peter Minor their secretary.

Resolved, that Alexander Garrett be appointed bursar of the University, and that he be allowed as a compensation for the duties of his said office the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars a year; and that the committee of superintendence hereafter to be named, be authorized to engage Arthur Brockenbrough as proctor of the University, with an allowance not exceeding 2,000 dollars a year, or if he cannot be engaged, then any other person on such terms as they find necessary.

Resolved, that the acting proctor be instructed to examine into the state of the property, real and personal (moneys and credits excepted), formerly appertaining to the Central College, and conveyed to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, that he make an inventory of the same, as it stands at this day, specifying the items whereof it consists, and noticing the buildings and other improvements already made and those which are in progress, and that the late treasurer of the College, now the bursar, be instructed to make a statement of the funds, in money and credit, which appertained to the said College, and were conveyed to the said president and directors; specifying how much of the said moneys have been received, how much have been paid away, to whom, and for

what purposes; what debts, to whom and for what purposes, are due on settled accounts; to whom and for what purposes debts are due on unsettled accounts; what part of the annual donation by the Commonwealth has been received, and how much thereof has been paid away, to whom, and for what purposes; all referring to the present date; and that the said inventory and statement be returned to this Board to be preserved among its records.

Resolved, that the proctor be required to provide a common seal for the University, in the field of which shall be engraved a Minerva enrobed in her peplum and characteristic habiliments as inventress and protectress of the arts, and that the exergue be "University of Virginia" and at the bottom the date of "1819."

It is the opinion of the Board that each of the professors of the University be allowed a standing salary of 1,500 dollars a year, and to receive also thirty dollars annually from every student attending him for instruction in any or all the branches of science, which constitute the department of which he is professor; and that he be allowed for his accommodation the use of one of the pavilions built, or to be built, clear of rent; it being understood that a professor of one department, holding temporarily another, may receive tuition fees from students attending him in each department, but only one salary, unless it be otherwise specially provided.

That the dormitories be rented to the students at a rate of twenty dollars a year for each dormitory, to be paid by the occupant or occupants; not more than two being permitted to lodge in the same dormitory.

Resolved, that a committee of advice, superintendence and control be appointed to direct the proceedings of the several agents of the Board during the intervals of its sessions, and to call a special meeting of the Board whenever, in their opinion, the good of the institution indispensably requires it, that notice of such call be addressed by the committee themselves or by the secretary on their order, to each member of the Board, and be forwarded to their respective residences by mail, be also published in the Richmond Enquirer, at least fifteen days before the time appointed for such meeting.

The Board hereby authorizes their bursar, with the advice of a member of the committee of superintendence, to draw on the president and directors of the Literary Fund, for the whole or any part of the public donation charged on that fund, either for immediate payment to those to whom moneys may be due, or to deposit the same in the Bank of Virginia, and thence, with the same advice, countersigned by a member of the committee, to draw it occasionally as may be requisite.

Resolved, that the Board concurs in the opinion of the Visitors of the Central College expressed in

their resolution of February 26, that it is expedient that the funds of the University be diverted as little as possible to the general engagement of the professors required for the institution, until provision be made of buildings for their accommodation, and for dieting and lodging the students; and that the measures adopted by them for the buildings of the present year be approved and pursued.

That Dr. Thomas Cooper of Philadelphia, heretofore appointed professor of chemistry and of law for the Central College, be confirmed and appointed for the University, as professor of chemistry, mineralogy and natural philosophy, and as professor of law also, until the advance of the institution and increase of the number of students shall render necessary a separate appointment to the professorship of law; that in addition to his permanent salary of 1,500 dollars he shall receive such sums during the first and second years as, with his salary and his tuition fees, shall amount, in the whole, to not less than 3,500 dollars a year, to commence on the first Monday of April of the ensuing year, 1820, or so soon after as he shall arrive at the University.

That the expense of removing his philosophical apparatus, his library and collection of minerals to the University be reimbursed to him; that until he shall have fifty students of chemistry, the expense in articles consumed necessarily in the course of chemical lectures be defrayed by the University, not exceeding 250 dollars in any course.

That the offer of his philosophical apparatus at the price it cost him, be accepted, and that also of 2,500 specimens of his collection of minerals, labelled and arranged in pasteboard cases, to be selected from his whole collection, for the use of the University, at the price of fifty cents each, by John Vaughan, Professor Patterson and Zaccheus Collins, with a suspension of payment, however, of the principal of these purchases until the more urgent provisions for the accommodation of the professors and students shall enable the school of the University to be opened generally, and with the payment, in the meantime, of interest at the rate of six per centum per annum on their amount.

Considering the importance, and the difficulty also at this time, of procuring American citizens, of the first order of science in their respective lines, to be professors in the University, the committee of superintendence are hereby jointly instructed and authorized, should any such offer, not to lose the opportunity of securing them for the University, by any provisional arrangements they can make within the limits of the salary and tuition fees before stated, and even with such reasonable accommodations as the case may require, suspending, however, their actual engagement until a meeting of the Visitors, and reserving to them the right of approval or rejection.

Resolved, that the said committee be jointly authorized to purchase, at a fair valuation or reason-

able price, of John Perry, if a fit occasion occur, such portion of his land lying between the two parcels heretofore purchased of him, as may conveniently unite the whole in one body; provided the payment be deferred until it can be received of the sixth instalment of subscriptions, or of the public endowment for the third year of the institution.

The Board proceeded to the appointment of the committee of superintendence, and John H. Cocke and Thos. Jefferson were appointed, with authority, jointly or severally, to direct the proceedings of the agents of the institution, but jointly only to call a special meeting of the Board.

Resolved, that the course of authenticating the proceedings of the Board be by the signature of the secretary, and counter-signature of the rector, or if there be no secretary, or not present, then by that of the rector alone.

And the Board adjourned.

Th. Jefferson, Rector.

March 29, 1819.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, at the said University on Monday, the 4th of October, 1819, present, Thomas Jefferson, Robert Taylor, James Madison, Chapman Johnson and John Hartwell Cocke.

Resolved, that instead of the hotel, which had

been directed to be built in this present year by the Visitors of the Central College at their meeting of February 26, and approved by this Board on the 29th of March last, the erection of an additional pavilion by the committee of superintendence, is approved; as also their engagements for two other additional pavilions and dormitories, in anticipation of the funds of the ensuing year.

Resolved, that, for the accomplishment of the buildings commenced, and for all other lawful expenses and disbursements on behalf of the University, the bursar be authorized, with the approbation of a member of the committee of superintendence, to draw on the President and directors of the Literary Fund, for the whole, or any part of the public donation charged on that fund, for the ensuing year, 1820, so soon as the same shall become payable.

It is the opinion of the Board that at least three other pavilions, making ten with those in hand, five hotels, and additional dormitories, in number depending on that of the students who shall apply for admission into the University, with their appendages, will be necessary for the proper accommodation of the whole number of professors contemplated by the legislature; and that the proctor, under the direction of the committee of superintendence, be required to make an estimate of the whole expense of completing such buildings, distinguishing the expense of each, and that such estimate should

accompany the report of this Board to the president and directors of the Literary Fund.

Resolved, that as the stone in the neighborhood of the University is not found capable of being wrought into capitals for the columns of some of the pavilions, and it may be necessary to procure elsewhere proper stone or marble, and to have capitals executed here or elsewhere, the proctor be authorized to take such measures relative thereto, and to make such arrangements for their execution, either by the two Italian artists engaged for that purpose, or by others, or compromise with them, as the committee of superintendence shall approve.

It appearing to the Board that the buildings and the funds of the University will not be in a condition to justify the commencement of any of its schools during the next spring, and that, therefore, the duties of the professorships to which Dr. Thomas Cooper was appointed must be deferred, the committee of superintendence is instructed to communicate that fact to Dr. Cooper, to arrange with him the terms on which the delay may be made, consistent with his convenience, and conformable to an honorable fulfillment of our engagements with him; and to report their proceedings to the Board at their next meeting.

An inventory of the property conveyed by the proctor of the Central College to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, a statement of the funds in money and credits of the said

College, conveyed to the use of the University, with the accounts of the disbursements, and of the funds in hand, from the close of the preceding accounts to the last day of September in this present year, as furnished by the bursar and proctor, and a draught of a report of the same, and of the condition of the University, being proposed to the Board, the same, after consideration and amendment is agreed to in the following words, to wit:

"To the president and directors of the Literary Fund:

"In obedience to the act of the legislature of Virginia, entitled 'An act establishing an University,' and enjoining on the rector and Visitors thereof 'to make report annually to the president and directors of the Literary Fund (to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session), embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the conditions of the said University,' make the following report:

"The Governor having been pleased, with the advice of Council, to appoint James Breckenridge, Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, Thomas Jefferson, Chapman Johnson, James Madison and Robert Taylor to be Visitors of the University of Virginia, and prescribed for their first meeting the last Monday in March of the present year, the Visitors so appointed met accordingly at the site provided for the Central College, and adopted by the legisla-

ture for that of the University, and proceeded to the duties presented to them by the said act of the legislature. They appointed Thomas Jefferson, one of their body, to be rector; Alexander Garrett, bursar; Arthur S. Brockenbrough, proctor, and Peter Minor, their secretary. They examined into the state of the property conveyed by the proctor of the Central College to the president and directors of the Literary Fund; had an inventory thereof made by the proctor, as it stood at that day, specifying the items whereof it consisted, and noticing the buildings and other improvements, made or in progress, a copy of which inventory is hereto annexed; and they required and received from the late treasurer of the Central College, now bursar of the University, a statement of the funds in money and credits of the said College, conveyed for the use of the said University, specifying the moneys received, those paid away, to whom and for what purposes; what debts, to whom, and for what purposes were due, and what part of the annual donation by the Commonwealth had been received; a copy of which statement is hereto also annexed, and to these is added an account of the disbursements, and of the funds in hand prepared by the bursar and proctor, from the close of the preceding accounts to the last day of September of the present year, as required by law, and also an estimate of the probable cost of the buildings still necessary for the accommodation of the whole number of

professors contemplated by the legislature and of the students.

"The Visitors of the Central College, having been in treaty with Dr. Thomas Cooper to be a professor in the said college, those of the University confirmed his appointment as professor of chemistry, mineralogy and natural philosophy; and agreed with him for the purchase of his valuable collection of minerals and of his philosophical apparatus. The time, however, for the commencement of his functions is not yet ultimately fixed, but they deem it inexpedient to make any further appointments of professors until accommodations for their reception and for that of the students shall be provided; and the rather, as the salaries of the professors, whenever they commence, by absorbing the funds of the University will leave little to be employed in buildings for their accommodation. They, therefore, concur in the opinion of the Visitors of the Central College, expressed in their resolution of February 26, that it was expedient that the funds of the University should be diverted as little as possible to the general employment of professors, until provision should be made for their accommodation, and for boarding houses and lodgings for the students, and for this purpose they gave directions under which one of the pavilions and fifteen of the dormitories, in the inventory mentioned, have been as nearly finished as is deemed expedient until wanted for occupation; and the

other pavilion therein also mentioned will be completed this winter. Five others are more or less advanced, each sufficient to accommodate one professor, and about twenty other dormitories are in progress. These will probably have their walls completed and covered in during the present season, but will not be otherwise finished but in the course of another. And, in order to effect this much, the Visitors have been obliged to enter into engagements which will not only exhaust the funds of the present year, but pledge those of the ensuing one also. For two seasons being generally requisite for the accomplishment of good buildings, the one for their walls and covering, the other inner finishings, had the commencement of these been postponed to the ensuing season, another year would have been added to the delays of the institution.

"The Visitors would have had sincere pleasure in announcing to the president and directors that they should be able to open the University, in time and manner, to meet the public expectations. But the sums necessary for the preliminary measure of providing accommodation will leave the funds of the institution in a condition which does not enable them to do this. If an earlier commencement, however, should be deemed of importance enough to justify an additional and competent aid from the funds over which your Board presides, for effecting the residuary buildings, the Visitors trust that they could have in place, by the autumn or

winter of the coming year, the complement of professors contemplated by the law, and open the institution at that epoch with the distinction called for by the interests and character of the State. And were they to indulge their own judgment, it would be that the annual tribute we are paying to other countries for the education of our youth, the retention of that sum at home, and receipt of a greater from abroad, which might flow to an University on an approved scale, would make it a gainful employment of the money advanced, were even dollars and cents to mingle themselves with the consideration of an higher order urging the accomplishment of this institution. But this urgency they leave with confidence, as in duty bound, to the wiser judgment of the legislature, with assurance, on the part of the Visitors that, whether with the present, or additional funds, they will omit nothing which may hasten the desirable moment when the youth of their country may find at home those resources of instruction which they have so long been in the habit of seeking elsewhere, and when, by a sound education, a wholesome direction may be given to *public opinion*, the safest guide and guardian of the public morals and welfare, the arbitress, in every nation, of its destinies to happiness or wretchedness, and the source to which, as either pure or corrupted, the changes of conditions in every country on earth may be traced and ascribed."

And the rector is instructed to authenticate and transmit the same, with the documents therein referred to, to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, according to law.

And the Board adjourns itself indefinitely.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

October 4, 1819.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia at the said University, on Monday, the 3d of April, 1820, present Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Breckenridge, John H. Cocke and Joseph C. Cabell.

Resolved, that the Visitors of the University accede to the loan of $40,000 authorized by a resolution of the president and directors of the Literary Fund of 23d March, 1820.

Resolved, that the aforesaid sum of $40,000 shall be applied as follows, viz., first, to the payments of the debts of the University. Second, to the completion of the buildings now on hand.

Resolved, that the balance that may remain of the $40,000, after accomplishing the two objects last specified, together with the annuity of the year 1821, after deducting the interest that will be due on the loan from the Literary Fund, be applied toward the erection of three other pavilions and their accessory dormitories.

Resolved, that the committee of superintendence

be authorized to borrow of the president and directors of the Literary Fund, or should that be impracticable, from any other quarter, the further sum of $20,000.

Resolved, that the aforesaid sum of $20,000, together with any balance of the preceding sums as may remain on hand, and the annuity of the year 1822, after deducting the sum due for interest on moneys borrowed, be applied towards the erection of buildings of accommodation on the eastern back street.

Resolved, that the committee of superintendence be authorized and required to propose to the president and directors of the Literary Fund a postponement for one year of the period of commencement of the instalments of the principal borrowed of the said Fund.

Resolved, that in the event of the agreement of the president and directors of the Literary Fund to the postponement of the instalments of principal as last mentioned, any balance that may remain on hand of the aforesaid sums of money, together with the annuity of the year 1822, after deducting the sums due for interest, be applied towards the erection of buildings of accommodation on the western back street.

Resolved, that Thomas Jefferson be appointed rector of the University for the ensuing four years.

Resolved, that Thomas Jefferson and John H. Cocke be appointed a committee of superintendence.

Resolved, that the committee of superintendence be authorized to communicate to Doctor Thomas Cooper the delay and uncertainty now unavoidable, in regard to the time of opening the University, and to make such change in the contracts with him as to them may seem advisable.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

April 3, 1820.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, at the said University, on Monday, 2d of October, 1820, present, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Robert B. Taylor, John H. Cocke, and Joseph C. Cabell;

The Board proceeded to the consideration of the annual report, and not having time to go through with the same, adjourned to Tuesday, 3d October.

At an adjourned meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, held on 3d October, 1820, present, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Robert B. Taylor, John H. Cocke and Joseph C. Cabell;

The Board approved the arrangement made by the committee of superintendence relative to the annulment of the contract with Doctor Thomas Cooper.

Resolved, that from and after the first day of October, 1820, the compensation to the bursar of

the University for his services shall be at the rate of one per cent on the amount of disbursements.

Resolved, that Joseph C. Cabell be and he is hereby desired and authorized to examine and verify the accounts of the preceding year, not already examined and verified.

Resolved, that the committee of superintendence be authorized to enter into negotiations with the following persons, with the view of engaging them as professors of the University, viz: Mr. Bowditch of Salem and Mr. Tichenor of Boston.

Resolved, that in the negotiations with Mr. Bowditch and Mr. Tichenor, the committee be authorized to offer the compensation hereafter specified, viz:

1. Apartments.
2. A salary of $2,000 per annum.
3. A fee of $10 for each student engaged to attend the lectures of the professor.
4. If the aggregate amount of the salary and of the fees of tuition should fall short of $2,500, in either the first, second or third year, the deficiency to be paid out the funds of the University.

The following report was agreed to:

To the president and directors of the Literary Fund:

In obedience to the act of the general assembly of Virginia, requiring that the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia should make report annually to the president and directors of the Literary Fund (to be laid before the legislature at

their next succeeding session), embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the condition of the said University, the said Visitors make the following report:

The general assembly at their last session of 1819–20 having passed an act authorizing the said Visitors, for the purpose of finishing the buildings of the University, to borrow the sum of 60,000 dollars, and to pledge for repayment of the said sum and interest, any part of the annual appropriation of 15,000 dollars heretofore made by law, the Board of Visitors at their semi-annual meeting of April last proceeded to the consideration of the said act, and of the authorities therein permitted to them. They were of opinion, in the first place, that it would be most expedient to complete all the buildings necessary for the accommodation of the professors and students before opening the institution, as the maintenance of that, when opened, by absorbing all its funds would leave nothing to complete that might yet be requisite for the full establishment called for by law.

On view of the account rendered by the bursar and proctor, they found that with the aid of the loan authorized (if the commencement of its instalments for repayment could be suspended four years), and of their annuity during the same time, they might accomplish the whole of the buildings of accommodation for the professors and students,

according to the estimates heretofore made of their probable cost, of which the following statement presents a summary view:

1820, Apr.	The existing debts are	$10,000
	To complete the 2 pavilions and 31 dormitories, on hand	18,000
	To build 3 more pavilions and 24 dormitories to complete the lawn	27,000
	To build 3 Hotels and 25 dormitories completing the east back street	19,000
1821.	To build 2 Hotels and Proctor's house and 25 dormitories completing west back street	19,000
		$93,000

Means.		
1820, Apr.	Loan from Literary Fund of	40,000
1821, Jan. 1.	Annuity of 15,000 D.—2,400 int. of 40,000 D..	12,600
	Additional loan of	20,000
1822, Jan. 1.	Annuity of 15,000 D.—3,600 D. int. of 60,000, 84,000	11,400
1823 Jan. 1.	Annuity of 15,000 D.—3,600 D. int. of 60.000,	11,400
		$95,400

They, therefore, proceeded to negotiate a loan of 40,000 dollars from the president and directors of the Literary Fund, reimbursable by instalments of 14,244 dollars a year, beginning on the —— day of April, 1824. And afterwards a second loan of 20,000 dollars, reimbursable by like annual instalments, commencing from the day when the others should end.

On this view of our resources the Board proceeded to authorize their proctor to enter into contracts

for the completion of the buildings already begun, and for the erection of those still wanting, so as to provide in the whole, ten pavilions for the professors required by law, five hotels for dieting the students and a sixth for the use of the proctor, with 104 dormitories, sufficient for lodging 208 students; and they instructed him to make, in his contracts, effectual provision that the whole shall be completed in the autumn of the ensuing year, 1821. At that time, therefore, the buildings of accommodation for the professors and students are expected to be all ready for their reception, and the institution might then be opened, but that the remaining engagements for the building and the reimbursement of the sums borrowed from the Literary Fund will require the whole revenue of the University for seven years to come, that is to say until the —— day of April, 1828.

In the statement of expenditures and means of the University it will be perceived that we have not taken the private subscriptions into account. Of these 2,079.33 dollars of the first instalment, 3,914.13 dollars of the second, and 8,217.09 of the third are still due; and the last, amounting to 10,666.50, will become due on the first day of April next. But of these some loss will be occasioned by the distresses of the times; and the residue, from the same cause, will be so tardy and uncertain in the times of its receipt, that the Visitors have not thought it safe to found on it any stipulations

requiring punctuality in their fulfillment. They have thought it more advisable to reserve it as a supplementary and contingent fund, to aid the general revenue, as it shall be received, and to meet casualties unforeseen, errors of estimate, and expenses other than those of mere building.

In the report of the commissioners who met at Rockfish gap on the 1st day of August, 1818, it was stated that "a building of somewhat more size in the middle of the grounds may be called for in time, in which may be rooms for religious worship under such impartial regulations as the Visitors shall prescribe, for public examinations, for a library, for the schools of music, drawing and other associated purposes." The expenses of this building are not embraced in the estimates hereinbefore stated. Its cost will probably be of about 40,000 dollars, and its want will be felt as soon as the University shall open. But this building is beyond the reach of the present funds; nor are these indeed adequate to the maintenance of the institution on the full scale enacted by the legislature. That body, aware that professors of desirable eminence could not be expected to relinquish the situations in which they might be found for others, new, untried and unknown, without a certainty of adequate compensation, confided to the discretion of the Visitors, the salaries which should be stipulated to the professors first employed. But the annuity heretofore appropriated to the main-

tenance of the University cannot furnish sufficient inducement to ten professors, of high degree each in his respective line of science; and yet, to employ inferior persons would be to stand where we are in science, unavailed of the higher advances already made elsewhere, and of the advantages contemplated by the statute under which we act.

If the legislature shall be of opinion that the annuity already apportioned to the establishment and maintenance of an institution for instruction in all the useful sciences, is its proper part of the whole fund, the Visitors will faithfully see that it shall be punctually applied to the remaining engagements for the buildings, and to the reimbursement of the extra sum lately received from the general fund: that during the term of its exclusive application to these objects, due care shall be taken to preserve the buildings erected from ruin or injury, and at the end of that term, they will provide for opening the institution in the partial degree to which its present annuity shall be adequate. If, on the other hand, the legislature shall be of opinion that the sums so advanced in the name of a loan, from the general fund of education, were legitimately applicable to the purposes of an University, that its early commencement will promote the public good by offering to our youth, now ready and waiting for it, an early and near resource for instruction, and, by arresting the heavy tribute we are annually paying to other states and countries

for the article of education, and shall think proper to liberate the present annuity from its engagements, the Visitors trust it will be in their power by the autumn of the ensuing year, 1821, to engage and bring into place that portion of the professors designated by the law, to which the present annuity may be found competent; or, by the same epoch, to carry into full execution the whole objects of the law, if an enlargement be made of its participation in the general fund, adequate to the full establishment contemplated by the law.

The accounts, receipts, disbursements and funds on hand for the year ending with the present date, as rendered by the bursar and proctor of the University, are given with this report, as is required by law.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

October 3, 1820.

And the Board adjourned without day.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

1820, April 1. A special meeting of the Visitors of the University having been called in the month of February, to be held on this day, April 1, signed by Th. Jefferson, James Madison, Chapman Johnson, Joseph C. Cabell, James Breckenridge and Robert Taylor, and duly notified to John H. Cocke to whom no opportunity had occurred of presenting it for his signature, the said Th. Jefferson and James

Madison attended accordingly, but not constituting a quorum, no proceedings took place.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia at the said University, on Monday the 2d of April 1821, present, Th. Jefferson, rector; James Breckenridge, Chapman Johnson and James Madison.

A letter having been received by the rector from Thomas Appleton, of Leghorn, stating the prices at which the Ionic and Corinthian capitals wanting for the pavilions of the University may be furnished there in marble, and these prices appearing to be much lower than they would cost if made here in stone, resolved, that it be an instruction to the committee of superintendence to procure the said capitals in marble from Italy.

Resolved, as the opinion of this Board, that it is expedient to procure the loan of 60,000 dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as authorized by the late act of the general assembly, concerning the University of Virginia, and that the committee of superintendence be instructed to negotiate the same with the president and directors of the Literary Fund of preference, or if not to be obtained from them, then with others, according to the authorities of the said act.

Resolved, that it is expedient to proceed with the building of the library on the plan submitted to the Board: provided the funds of the Univer-

sity be adequate to the completion of the buildings already begun, and to the building the western range of hotels and dormitories, and be also adequate to the completion of the library so far as to render the building secure and fit for use; and that it be an instruction to the committee of superintendence to ascertain as accurately as may be the state of accounts under the contracts already made, the expenses of completing the buildings begun and contemplated. And not to enter into contracts for the library until they are fully satisfied that, without interfering with the finishing of all the pavilions, hotels and dormitories, begun and to be begun, they have funds sufficient to put the library in the condition above described.

And the Board adjourns without day.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

October 2, 1820.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, by special call, on Thursday the 29th of November, 1821, at the University, two members only attending, to wit: Thomas Jefferson and Chapman Johnson, they adjourned to the next day.

November 30, present, Thomas Jefferson, Chapman Johnson, James Madison and John Hartwell Cocke.

The Board being informed that of the 60,000 dollars permitted to be borrowed from the Literary Fund by the act of the last general assembly, the

sum of 29,100 dollars only has as yet been obtained, and that there is uncertainty as to the time when the balance may be obtained, they deem it expedient that the annuity of 15,000 dollars, receivable on the 1st of January next, be applied to the accomplishment of the buildings and other current purposes, in the first place, and that, should further sums be wanted before the receipt of the balance of the said loan, the committee of superintendence be authorized to borrow from the bank to the amount of that balance, to be replaced by the said balance when received.

Resolved, that the superintending committee be authorized to have an engraving made of the ground-plat of the buildings of the University including the library, and so many copies struck off for sale as they shall think proper, and also to engage a good painter to draw a perspective view of the upper level of buildings, to be engraved, yielding to him, for his trouble, the patent right, and paying his reasonable expenses coming, staying and returning, should it be required.

A proposition having been received to join with other seminaries in a petition of Congress, for a repeal of the duty on imported books, resolved, that this Board will concur in such a petition and a form being prepared and approved, and a form also of a letter to our senators and representatives in Congress requesting them to present and advocate the said petition, the rector is desired to authenticate and forward the same.

A form of a report, as annually required to be made to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, on the funds and condition of the University, was then proposed, amended and agreed to in the following words:

To the president and directors of the Literary Fund:

In obedience to the act of the general assembly of Virginia, requiring that the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia shall make report annually to the president and directors of the Literary Fund (to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session), embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the condition of the said University, the said rector and Visitors make the following report:

At their meeting in April last, the attention of the Visitors was first drawn to the consideration of the act of the late general assembly, which authorized the Literary Board to lend, for the use of the University, a further sum of 60,000 dollars from such moneys as should thereafter come to their hands. And taking such view as could then be obtained of the expenses already incurred for the lands, buildings and accessory purposes, for the accommodation of the professors and students of the University, so far as already completed, or in a state of advancement, and the further expenses still to be incurred necessarily

to complete those accommodations, they concluded it to be for the benefit of the institution to obtain the said loan. Application was accordingly made to the Literary Board, a sum of 29,100 dollars was obtained, and the further sum of 30,900 dollars is expected so soon as the receipts of that Board shall enable them to furnish it.

In the meantime the Board deemed it incumbent to obtain as early as possible a correct statement of the actual cost of what was already done, and a probable one of that still to be done, estimated according to the experience now obtained. They, therefore, instructed their proctor to apply himself assiduously to the completion of the buildings generally, to a settlement of all accounts of the actual cost of those finished, and an estimate, according to that, of what would be the cost of those still to be finished. The completion of the buildings of accommodation, which are in four rows of about 600 feet in length each, as may be seen by the plans accompanying this report, has been pressed with as much effect as could be expected; insomuch that there are now complete, and in readiness for occupation, six pavilions for the accommodation of the professors, eighty-two dormitories for that of the students, and two hotels for their dieting; and the others will all be completed in the ensuing summer. The accounts for the construction of those already finished have been actually settled; and the probable cost of

the unfinished has been estimated according to the rates which the others have been found to cost.

The following is a summary view of the actual expenditures of the institution from the beginning, of those yet to be incurred to its completion, and of the funds received and still receivable, as nearly as can at present be stated:

6	Pavilions finished have cost, ...	$52,713.76	
17	Capitals for them expected from Italy are to cost by contract, ...	2,052.00	
2	Hotels finished have cost	8,515.82	
82	Dormitories finished have cost, ...	50,645.74	
			$113,927.32
	The following are nearly finished and are estimated at the rates the others have cost, or at prices actually contracted for:		
4	Pavilions	$33,563.15	
4	Hotels	16,000.00	
27	Dormitories	11,952.21	61,515.36
	Back yards and gardens		1,500.00
	Making the whole cost of the four rows of buildings of accommodation		$176,942.68
	The purchase of 245½ acres of land and the buildings on them, past compensations to the bursar and proctor, hire and maintenance of laborers, and all other accessory and contingent expenses, ...		24,607.77
	Making a total for the lands, buildings, etc., complete, ...		$201,550.45
	To which add for interest on the loans, calculated to December 31, 1821, ...		6,160.25
			$207,710.70

The funds applied and applicable to these expenditures are:		
The sale of glebe lands,	$3,104.09	
A State certificate, No. 32, bearing interest,	176.77	
Annuities of 1819, '20, '21,	45,000.00	
Loan of 1820,	60,000.00	
Loan of 1821,	60,000.00	
Subscriptions received to November 27, '21	24,676.37½	
Balance of subscriptions (due 19,668.91 of which suppose 3,000 lost),	16,668.95	
		$209,626.18
From this would result a small surplus of,		1,915.48
		$207.710.70

According to the proctor's accounts for the present year (which, with the bursar's, are herewith enclosed, and) which contain minuter specifications of the expenditures.

To finish and pay for the whole of the buildings of accommodation not yet finished and paid for will require a further sum to be placed at his command of,		$53,494.79
The resources for this are:		
The balance of the loan of '21, still to be received,	$30,900.00	
The balance still due of subscription moneys, separate,	16,668.95	
Cash in the banks undrawn as per bursar's account,	2,301.23	
Dollars in the bursar's hands, as per his account	447.84	
State certificate No. 32,	176.77	
From which would result a deficit to be supplied from the annuity of,	3,000.00	
		$53,494.79

So far then, as can at present be seen (and we are now so near the end of this work that there is room for little error) the funds received and receivable will, within a small fraction, pay for the lands purchased, for the whole system of buildings of accommodation, and all accessory expenses.

The building for the library, comprehending halls indispensably necessary for other public purposes, and estimated by the proctor, according to past experiences, to cost 46,847 dollars will remain to be erected from the same fund of the annuity. The anticipations of this by loans, for expediting the other buildings, will have weakened it by nearly one-half its amount by the sums of interest to which it is subject, and will consequently retard the commencement of its applications to the discharge of the sums borrowed by annual instalments, if such should continue to be the will of the legislature.

The buildings of accommodation will be finished, as before observed, in the ensuing summer, and will constitute the whole establishment, except that of the library. With the close of these works the accounts of their costs will also be closed. These will be first examined by a committee of the Visitors that nothing may enter into them not sanctioned by the Board. They will then be finally submitted to the accountant of the Literary Board, for the assurance of the public that the moneys have been correctly and faithfully applied.

In the course of these works, as is unavoidable, perhaps, generally in those of considerable magnitude, there have occured instances of moneys paid, not in direct furtherance of the legitimate object. The first was the case of a contract by the Visitors of the Central College for a professor, while acting for that as a private establishment, and under an expectation of its immediate commencement. But that institution being afterwards merged in this of the University, and the enlargement of the plan occasioning that of the time of its commencement also, it became important that that contract should be rescinded. This was done on a just and reasonable compromise and indemnification of 15,000 dollars. Another instance was the importation of a fine artist for carving the capitals of the more difficult orders of the buildings. The few persons in this country capable of that work were able to obtain elsewhere such high prices for their skill and labor that we believed it would be economy to procure an artist from some country where skill is more abundant, and labor cheap. We did so. But on trial the stone we had counted on in the neighborhood of the University was found totally unsusceptible of delicate work; and some from a very distant, but the nearest other quarry known, besides a heavy expense attending its transportation, was extremely tedious to work, and believed not proof against the influences of the weather. In the meantime we had inquired

and learned that the same capitals could be furnished in Italy, and delivered in our own ports for a half, or third, of the price, in marble, which they would have cost us here in doubtful stone. We arrested the work here, therefore, and compromised with our artist at the expense of his past wages, his board and passage hither, amounting to 1,390 dollars, 56 cents. These are the only instances of false expense which have occurred within our knowledge.

The two pavilions and their adjacent dormitories, begun and considerably advanced by the authorities of the Central College, were contracted for by them, when all things were at their most inflated paper prices, and, therefore, have been of extraordinary cost. But all the buildings since done on the more enlarged scale of the University, have been at prices of from twenty-five to fifty per cent reduction; and it is confidently believed that, with that exception, no considerable system of building, within the United States has been done on cheaper terms, nor more correctly, faithfully, or solidly executed, according to the nature of the materials used.

That the style or scale of the buildings should have met the approbation of every individual judgment was impossible from the various structure of various minds. Whether it has satisfied the general judgment is not known to us. No previous expression of that was manifested but in

the injunctions of the law to provide for the accommodation of ten professors, and a competent number of students, and by the subsequent enactments, implying an approbation of the plan reported by the original commissioners, on the requisition of the law constituting them, which plan was exactly that now carried into execution. We had, therefore, no supplementary guide but our own judgments, which we have exercised conscientiously in adopting a scale and style of building believed to be proportioned to the respectability, the means and the wants of our country, and such as will be approved in any future condition it may attain. We owed to it to do, not what was to perish with ourselves, but what would remain, be respected and preserved through other ages. And we fondly hope that the instruction which may flow from this institution, kindly cherished, by advancing the minds of our youth with the growing science of the times, and elevating the views of our citizens generally to the practice of the social duties, and the functions of self government, may ensure to our country the reputation, the safety and prosperity, and all the other blessings which experience proves to result from the cultivation and improvement of the general mind. And, without going into the monitory history of the ancient world in all its quarters, and at all its periods, that of the soil on which we live and of its occupants, indigenous and immigrant, teaches the awful lesson,

that no nation is permitted to live in ignorance with impunity.

And the Board adjourned without day.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

November 29, 1821.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia at said University, on Monday, the 1st of April, 1822; present, Thomas Jefferson, rector, Joseph C. Cabell and John Hartwell Cocke, who, not being sufficient to constitute a quorum for buisness, they adjourned indefinitely.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

April 1, 1822.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia at the said University, on Monday, the 7th of October, 1822.

Present, Thomas Jefferson, rector, James Breckenridge, Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke and James Madison.

Resolved, that the proctor be instructed to enter into conferences with such skillful and responsible undertakers as he would approve, for the building of the library, on the plan heretofore proposed, and now in his possession, and to procure from them declarations of the smallest sums for which they will undertake the different portions of the

work of the said building; each portion to be done as well, in materials, manner and sufficiency, as the best of the same kind of work already done in the preceding buildings, or as well and sufficiently as shall now be agreed on; that (omitting the capitals of the columns, which would be procured elsewhere) the several other portions being specified under such general heads and details as may be convenient to show the cost of each and by whom undertaken, fixing also the time within which each portion shall be completed: and that his agreements be provisional only, and subject to the future acceptance or refusal of the Visitors.

Resolved, that the committee of superintendence be authorized to employ a collector to proceed to the collection of the moneys still due on subscriptions, under such instruction and agreement as they shall approve.

Resolved, that the examination and report of the account of the bursar of the University of Virginia, from the 1st day of October, 1820, to the 31st day of March, 1821, and from the 31st day of March, 1821, to the 27th day of November, 1821, made by John H. Cocke, at the request of the rector, by his letter of the 1st of December, 1821, be hereby ratified as done under authority of this Board; and that the said John H. Cocke be and he is hereby appointed to examine and verify the accounts of the said bursar, from the

27th day of November, 1821, to this date, and make report thereof to this Board.

Resolved, that George Loyall, Esq., now a member of this Board, appointed on the resignation of Robert B. Taylor, be added to the committee for settlement of the bursar's and proctor's accounts, with authority to the committee to act singly or together, as convenience may admit.

The following report was then agreed to:

To the president and directors of the Literary Fund:

In obedience to the act of the general assembly of Virginia, requiring that the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, should make report annually to the president and directors of the Literary Fund (to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session), embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the conditions of the University, the said rector and Visitors make the following report:

The Visitors, considering as the law of their duty the report of the commissioners of 1818 which was made to the legislature, and acted on by them, from time to time subsequently, have completed all the buildings proposed by that report, except one; that is to say, ten distinct houses or pavilions containing each a lecturing room, with generally four other apartments for the accommodation of a professor and his family, and with a

garden and the requisite family offices; six hotels for dieting the students, with a single room in each for a refectory, and two rooms, a garden and offices for the tenant; and a hundred and nine dormitories, sufficient each for the accommodation of two students, arranged in four distinct rows between the pavilions and hotels, and united with them by covered ways; which buildings are all in readiness for occupation, except that there is still some plastering to be done, now in hand, which will be finished early in the present season, the gardens, grounds and garden walls to be completed, and some columns awaiting their capitals not yet received from Italy. These buildings are mostly paid for by the moneys which have been received, and it is still expected they would be completely so by the subscriptions due, were they in hand. But the slowness of their collection will render it necessary to make good their deficiencies, in the first instance, out of the annuity of the ensuing years, to be replaced to that fund again by the subscriptions as they come in.

The remaining building, necessary to complete the whole establishment, and called for by the report of 1818, which was to contain rooms for religious worship, for public examinations, for a library, and for other associated purposes, is not yet begun for want of funds. It was estimated heretofore by the proctor, according to the prices which the other buildings have actually cost, at

the sum of 46,847 dollars. The Visitors, from the beginning, have considered it as indispensable to complete all the buildings before opening the institution; because, from the moment that shall be opened, the whole income of the University will be absorbed by the salaries of the professors, and other incidentals and current expenses, and nothing will remain to erect any building still wanting to complete the system. They are still of opinion, therefore, that it is better to postpone for a while, the commencement of the institution, and then to open it in full and complete system, than to begin prematurely in an unfinished state, and go on, perhaps forever, on the contracted scale of local academies, utterly inadequate to the great purposes which the report of 1818 and the legislature have hitherto had in contemplation. They believe that, in that imperfect state, it will offer little allurement to other than neighboring students, and that professors of the first eminence in their respective lines of science, will not be induced to attach their reputations to an institution, defective in its outset, and offering no pledge of rising to future distinction. Yet the Visitors consider the procuring such characters (and it will certainly be their aim) as the peculiar feature which is to give reputation and value to the institution, and to constitute its desirable and important attraction. But the present state of the funds renders the prospect of finishing the last building indefinitely

distant. The interest of the sums advanced to the institution now absorbs nearly half its income. A suspension of interest indeed, for three or four years, would give time for erecting the building with the established annuity; but subsequent repayment of the principal from that annuity would remove the opening of the institution to a very remote period.

On this view of the condition of the University, the Visitors think it their duty to state, if the legislature shall be of opinion that the sums advanced to the University, in the name of loans, from the general fund for education, have been applied to their legitimate object, and shall think proper to liberate the annuity from their reimbursement, it will suffice in three or four years to complete the last building, and the institution may be opened at the end of that term. And further, that if the requisite sum can be supplied from the same or any other fund, then the University may be put into as full operation as its income will admit, in the course of the year ensuing the present date, and while the remaining building will be proceeding on such supplementary fund. This, however, or whatever else their wisdom may desire, is subject to their discretion to which the Visitors will in duty conform.

In the same report of the commissioners of 1818 it was stated by them that "in conformity with the principles of constitution, which place all sects

of religion on an equal footing, with the jealousies of the different sects in guarding that equality from encroachment or surprise, and with the sentiments of the legislature in freedom of religion, manifested on former occasions, they had not proposed that any professorship of divinity should be established in the University; that provision, however, was made for giving instruction in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, the depositories of the originals, and of the earliest and most respected authorities of the faith of every sect, and for courses of ethical lectures, developing those moral obligations in which all sects agree. That, proceeding thus far, without offence to the constitution, they had left, at this point, to every sect to take into their own hands the office of further instruction in the peculiar tenet of each."

It was not, however, to be understood that instruction in religious opinion and duties was meant to be precluded by the public authorities, as indifferent to the interests of society. On the contrary, the relations which exist between man and his Maker, and the duties resulting from those relations, are the most interesting and important to every human being, and the most incumbent on his study and investigation. The want of instruction in the various creeds of religious faith existing among our citizens presents, therefore, a chasm in a general institution of the useful sciences. But it was thought that this want, and the entrust-

ment to each society of instruction in its own doctrine, were evils of less danger than a permission to the public authorities to dictate modes or principles of religious instruction, or than opportunities furnished them by giving countenance or ascendancy to any one sect over another. A remedy, however, has been suggested of promising aspect, which, while it excludes the public authorities from the domain of religious freedom, will give to the sectarian schools of divinity the full benefit the public provisions made for instruction in the other branches of science. These branches are equally necessary to the divine as to the other professional or civil characters, to enable them to fulfill the duties of their calling with understanding and usefulness. It has, therefore, been in contemplation, and suggested by some pious individuals, who perceive the advantages of associating other studies with those of religion, to establish their religious schools on the confines of the University, so as to give to their students ready and convenient access and attendance on the scientific lectures of the University; and to maintain, by that means, those destined for the religious professions on as high a standing of science, and of personal weight and respectability, as may be obtained by others from the benefits of the University. Such establishments would offer the further and greater advantage of enabling the students of the University to attend religious exercises with the professor of their par-

ticular sect, either in the rooms of the building still to be erected, and destined to that purpose under impartial regulations, as proposed in the same report of the commissioners, or in the lecturing room of such professor. To such propositions the Visitors are disposed to lend a willing ear, and would think it their duty to give every encouragement, by assuring to those who might choose such a location for their schools, that the regulations of the University should be so modified and accommodated as to give every facility of access and attendance to their students, with such regulated use also as may be permitted to the other students, of the library which may hereafter be acquired, either by public or private munificence. But always understanding that these schools shall be independent of the University and of each other. Such an arrangement would complete the circle of the useful sciences embraced by this institution, and would fill the chasm now existing, on principles which would leave inviolate the constitutional freedom of religion, the most inalienable and sacred of all human rights, over which the people and authorities of this state, individually and publicly, have ever manifested the most watchful jealousy: and could this jealousy be now alarmed, in the opinion of the legislature, by what is here suggested, the idea will be relinquished on any surmise of disapprobation which they might think proper to express.

A committee of the Board was duly appointed to settle finally the accounts of all receipts and disbursements, from the commencement of the Central College to the entire completion of the four ranges of buildings of the University. They found it necessary to employ a skillful accountant to make up a complete set of books, in regular form, wherein all the accounts, general and particular, should be stated, so as that every dollar might be traced from its receipt to its ultimate expenditure, and the clearest view be thus exhibited of the faithful application of the moneys placed under the direction of the Board. This work has taken more time than expected; and although considerably advanced is not entirely completed. Until its completion, however, the committee cannot proceed on the final settlement with which they are charged. The bursar's accounts for the year preceding this date are rendered herewith; as are also the proctor's for the first six months; but his books and papers being necessarily in the hands of the accountant, his account for the last year could not as yet be prepared. The settlement by the committee, when made, will be transmitted as a supplementary document, to the Literary Board, as well as for its regular audit by their accountant, as to be laid before the legislature.

And the Board adjourned without day.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

October 7, 1822.

MONTICELLO, December 23, 1822.

SIR,—According to the requisitions of the law, I now transmit to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, for communication to the legislature, the annual report of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, bearing date the 7th of October last. At that date the regular books were not yet completed which were under preparation for the purpose of exhibiting a clear and methodical view of the application of all the moneys which have been received and employed on this institution. From the best view which, before that time had been taken of the affairs of the University it was expected, as is stated in this report, that the buildings now prepared would be completely paid for by the subscriptions still due. These books have been since completed, and the result (as appears by the certificates herewith enclosed) is that the institution has received from the beginning:

To the 23d of the last month, in the whole, and from all funds, the sum of,	$199,149.98½
And is still to receive of subscriptions unpaid,	18,343.43½
	$217,503.42
That there has been paid, within the same period for the purposes of the institution, the sum of,	$199,159.98½
And there remains to be paid debts, settled and unsettled about	27,001.63
	$226,161.61½
Being more than the arrearages of subscription will pay by,	$8,658.19½

which sum must, therefore, necessarily come from the annuity of the ensuing year. Some finishings, of small amount, to the garden walls and pavements also are still wanting, and there will be some loss of subscriptions by bankruptcies and removals, though not considerable in proportion to the whole sum subscribed. A collector, employed some time since, gives reason to believe that the arrearages which are separate will be generally paid up in the course of the ensuing spring.

The accounts of the bursar and proctor have been examined, from the beginning to the same date of November 23d, by a member of the Board of Visitors appointed a committee for that purpose, have been tested by their vouchers, and the result certified in the books by the committee, as is shown by the certificates, copies of which accompany this report. From this it will appear that, in a course of so great expenditure, every article (a single one excepted of seventy-five cents only) has been satisfactorily vouched as faithfully applied to the purposes of the institution, with the sanction of the Visitors. The bursar and proctor will proceed without delay, with their accounts and vouchers, to settle with the public accountant the trust which they have so far and so correctly executed. The proctor's last semi-annual account, not ready at the date of the report, is now transmitted.

An estimate made by the proctor at an early period, supposed that the last building called for

by the report of 1818 and not yet executed, would probably cost the sum of 46,847 dollars, but this did not include two considerable appendages necessary to connect it with the other buildings. An estimate including these, now recently made by the principal undertakers and executors of the other buildings, raises its amount to about one-third more.

It is by instruction from the Visitors that I communicate facts which, resulting from investigation not concluded at the date of their report, and consequently not known to them, constitute an important supplement to the matter of their report, to which I add the assurance of my high consideration.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

A meeting of the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia was held at the University on 7th April, 1823, at which were present, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Chapman Johnson, George Loyall and Joseph C. Cabell.

It was resolved, that the loan of sixty thousand dollars, which the president and directors of the Literary Fund were authorized by an act of the last general assembly to make to the University, be accepted, and that the rector be authorized to execute the proper bonds, and to take the necessary steps for drawing the money, and that it be drawn

in the following time and sums: that is to say, thirty thousand dollars immediately, and the remaining thirty thousand dollars on the first day of January next; or in such other sums, and at such other times, as the president and directors of the Literary Fund and the executive committee of the University may agree upon.

It was resolved that the charges of Mr. Coffee for materials, packages, etc., be allowed him.

An anonymous letter, supposed to be in the handwriting of James Oldham, a carpenter, formerly employed at the University, which bears date 18 January, *1822* (by error as is supposed for 1823), and addressed to Thomas Griffin, Esq., a member of the legislature of Virginia, containing various charges, of misconduct, against Arthur S. Brockenbrough, the proctor of the University, having been laid before the Board by the said Brockenbrough, and the Board thinking that if the said James Oldham will avow himself the author of this letter, and profess himself willing to afford any evidence of these charges, they ought to be investigated.

Therefore, resolved, that the executive committee be charged with the duty of calling on the said Oldham, to declare whether he is the author of the letter aforesaid, and is willing to give any information as to the charges therein mentioned, and if he avow himself the author, and willing to give the information, then that they enter into the investigation thereof, upon evidence taken in such

mode as they may prescribe, and report thereon to this Board at their next meeting

Resolved, that the executive committee be authorized and required to employ from time to time an accountant, to settle and state the accounts of the University and to report thereon to the Board, at each meeting, and that they allow to the said accountant a reasonable compensation for his service.

Resolved, that Joseph C. Cabell and John H. Cocke, or either of whom may act, be appointed a committee to settle and report to the Board the accounts of the bursar and proctor of the University, with authority, if they deem it expedient, to require a statement thereof by the accountant.

The Board adjourns indefinitely.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

April 7, 1823.

A meeting of the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia was held at the University on the 6th October, 1823, at which were present Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Breckenridge, John H. Cocke, George Loyall and Joseph C. Cabell.

Resolved, that the Board approves of the contract entered into with Giacomo Raggi, for furnishing bases of marble of Cararra for the columns of the rotunda.

Resolved, that they recommend to the executive committee to procure capitals of the same marble for the same columns if practicable, on terms not higher than those offered by Thos. Appleton.

Resolved, that they recommend also to the said committee to procure squares of marble for paving the portico of the rotunda, if they find that it can be done on terms preferable to what it will cost to have the same paved with country stone.

Resolved, that it be an instruction to the collector of the University to call once more on the subscribers who are in arrear, for the payment of their arrears, that from those not ready to make payment, he may receive, instead thereof, bonds or notes from those who have not already given them, payable in ninety days; and if these be not given, that he institute suits in the proper court with instructions to the attorney engaged to press the suits to execution with the least delay practicable.

Resolved, that the Board think it expedient to continue the collector so long as the executive committee may deem his employment necessary to finish the collection.

A report to the president and directors of the Literary Fund having been proposed, was agreed to.

TH. JEFFERSON.

October 6, 1823.

To the president and directors of the Literary Fund:

In obedience to the law requiring that the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia should make report annually to the president and directors of the Literary Fund (to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session), embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the condition of the said University, the said rector and Visitors make the following report:

In conformity with the act of the general assembly of February 5 of the present year, requiring that, out of the invested capital then lying in the Literary Fund, there should be loaned, by the president and directors of the said fund, to the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia, for the purpose of completing the buildings, and making the necessary preparations for putting the said University into operation, any sum required by the said rector and Visitors, not exceeding that of 60,000 dollars; the Visitors at their meeting on the 7th of April last, deemed it necessary for the institution to require the whole of the said sum, but that it should be drawn in different portions and at different times, as it should be wanting, so far as the Literary Board should think advisable. There was accordingly received, by an order of the said Board, in the month of May last, a sum of forty thousand dollars. * * * * * * * in consequence hereof the

larger building, for a library and other purposes was commenced and has been carried on with activity, insomuch that its walls are now ready to receive their roof; but that being of hemispherical form and pressing outwardly in every direction, it has been thought not advisable to place it on the walls in their present green state, but rather to give them time to settle and dry until the ensuing season, when the roof will be ready, and the walls in a proper condition to receive it. Whether the interior work of the building will be finished within the ensuing year is doubtful.

The report of the 7th of October of the last year stated that the buildings for the accommodation of the professors and students were in readiness for occupation, except as to small articles of plastering then on hand, the garden walls and grounds, and some columns which awaited their capitals from abroad. These finishings are done, the capitals are received and put up; and the whole of these buildings are now in perfect readiness for putting the instituiton into operation. And this might be done (taking reasonable time for procuring professors) at the close of the ensuing year, 1824, were its funds liberated from their present incumbrances; but these remove the epoch to a very distant time. The several sums advanced from the Literary Fund as loans, when the balance of the last shall have been received, will amount to 180,000 dollars, bearing a present interest of 10,800

dollars. This, with the cost of the necessary care and preservation of the establishment will leave, of the annual endowment of the University, a surplus of between two and three thousand dollars only, with its compound increase for the redemption of the principal. This being as before mentioned, of 180,000 dollars, will be extinguished by the annual payment of a constant sum of 2,500 dollars at the end of twenty-five years, a term too distant for the education of any person already born, or to be born for some time to come; and within that period a great expense will be incurred in the mere preservation of the buildings and appurtenances. These are views which it is the duty of the Visitors to present, and to leave to the wisdom and paternal consideration of the legislature, to whose care are confided the instruction, and other interests of the present, as well as of the future generations proceeding from us.

That report, with the letter of the 23d accompanying it, stated also that the buildings of accommodation for the professors and students were so far paid for as that the arrearages of subscriptions still due being 18,343 dollars 43½ cents would, when received, complete their payment to within the sum of 8,658 dollars 19½ cents. While there were other funds to which present recourse could be had, it had been deemed reasonable to indulge the convenience of such subscribers as found difficulties in paying their instalments rigorously at

the periods prescribed. But that the arrears having then become urgently necessary, an active collector had been employed to settle and call for them. In the course of the year he has collected, of these arrearages, the sum of 4,825 dollars 77½ cents; he has obtained bonds or promises, verbal or written, for prompt payment, deemed good, to the amount of 10,107 dollars 93¾ cents; and as to the remainder, some of the subscribers have not yet been called on, some have removed out of the State, and some become insolvent; of this remainder, he considers 932 dollars 25 cents sperate, and the residue, between 2,500 and 2,600 dollars as desperate; which on 43,808 dollars, the whole sum subscribed, will be an ultimate loss of nearly 6 per cent. This will so far increase the deficit of 8,658.19½ before stated as falling short of paying for the four rows of buildings, and so far add to the charge on the funds on hand or still to accrue. This state of things obliges a call for peremptory and prompt payment of these arrearages, which cannot be thought unreasonable by the subscribers who have been so far indulged already, when it is considered that these works were engaged on the faith of the sums subscribed, so far as their amount, that those who undertook them have accordingly executed them, and are now justly entitled to the compensation stipulated. We trust, therefore, that, in the course of the ensuing twelve months, these arrearages will be paid up, except such as inter-

vening circumstances may have rendered desperate. A general statement of the receipts and expenditures, from all funds and for all purposes, from the beginning of the establishment to the 1st of October of the last year, was communicated for the legislature, at their last session. Those of the bursar and proctor, for the year ending the 1st day of this present October are herewith rendered. They have been duly settled, and tested by their vouchers, by the same accountant and committee employed on the former occasion, and will be duly submitted by those officers, for audit by the accountant of the Literary Board.

TH. JEFFERSON.

October 6, 1823.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, held at the said University on Monday, the 5th day of April, 1824, as prescribed by the Governor of the Commonwealth; present, James Madison, Chapman Johnson, John H. Cocke and Thomas Jefferson.

On a view of the commissions produced, and of a letter from the Governor, dated the 1st of March last past, it appears that Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Chapman Johnson, Joseph C. Cabell, George Loyall, James Breckenridge and John H. Cocke were on the same 1st day of the said month of March appointed by the Governor, with advice of counsel, Visitors of the said University.

The Board proceeded to the appointment of a rector, and Thomas Jefferson was appointed; and being of opinion that the other officers of the institution continue in office of course, they deem reappointment unnecessary.

The legislature, at their late session, having released to the University the payment of interest on the sum of 180,000 dollars, advanced by the Literary Fund for the accomplishment of its buildings, with the view that the institution may be brought into operation with as little delay as practicable, the Board now proceeds to take such preparatory measures as can be taken at this time, to carry that view into effect.

From accounts and estimates now rendered by the bursar and proctor, it appears that, on the last day of the preceding year, 1823, the funds of the University in hand and due of the last loan, and of the arrearages of subscriptions, would be sufficient, when received, to pay all debts then existing on any account, and to leave a sum of about 21,000 dollars applicable to the building of the rotunda, which, with the further sum of 19,370 dollars 40½ cents already paid or provided for, making together the sum of about 40,500 dollars applied, or which may be applied, to that edifice, would put it into a state sufficient for use, until other and more pressing objects shall have been accomplished.

They consider the University, therefore, as having

had in hand on the 1st day of this present year, 1824, the annuity of this year, clear of all prior claims, as a fund for defraying the current expenses of the institution for the present year, for meeting those necessary for procuring professors, for bringing them into place, for paying any commencements of salaries which may be incurred to the end of the year, and to leave a surplus for contingencies of about 3,000 dollars.

They calculate that in future years, in addition to the annuity of 15,000 dollars, they may count on the rents of six hotels at 150 dollars each, of 100 dormitories at sixteen dollars each, of nine others smaller at twelve dollars each, and an additional rent from 218 students at twelve dollars each, for their participation in the use of the public apartments; making a total income of 21,224 dollars.

They are of opinion that to obtain professors of the first order of science in their respective lines, they must resort principally to Europe; and that persons of eminence may not be expected to leave a known for an untried situation, but on certain salaries in addition to liberal tuition fees.

On this view of their future funds, it is evident that they will not be adequate to the full establishment of the ten professorships contemplated by the legislature in their act of January 25, 1819, for establishing the University.

It is their opinion, however, that they may,

on that income, adventure on the establishment of eight professorships, either immediately, or at a period not distant; and that the branches of science proposed to be taught in the University may be arranged within the competence of that number for a time, and until future and favorable circumstances may enable them to add others to lighten duly the professorships thus overcharged with duties.

That to be ensured of obtaining characters of the due degree of science, of talents for instruction, and of correct habits and morals, a special agent be sent to Europe, and of preference to the countries there using our own language, to make the selection, under necessary instructions, caution and advisement, and to counsel and effect their passage to this country and to the University.

That the agent be instructed to procure them for such compensation, within the limits herein prescribed, as he shall find practicable and deem right; that he offer to each a fixed salary, not less than 1,000 nor more than 1,500 dollars a year with the privilege of receiving the tuition fees required from the students by the regulations of this Board, and that he be authorized, if he find it expedient, to assure to each, or any of them, that his salary, together with his fees, shall not be less annually, for five years, than the sum of 2,500 dollars; and that though the Board of Visitors retain the power of regulating the tuition fees from

time to time, as circumstances may require, they will not reduce them below the rate now fixed at any time within five years, without the consent of the professor to be affected by such reduction, and at no time thereafter without strong consideration connected with the prosperity of the institution.

That a sum of 2,000 dollars be placed in Great Britian subject to his orders, for such advances as may be necessary to the professors on account of salaries; which salaries may commence on the 1st day of October, or on whatever later day they may embark for their destination.

That a further sum of 6,000 dollars be placed in like manner for the purchase of such chemical, astronomical, physical and mathematical apparatus, and for such text books, as on consultation with the representative professors, each for his department, shall be deemed indispensable for a beginning, and not exceeding in the whole the sum so placed

That the sum of 1,500 dollars be allowed and advanced to the agent in full of all compensation for his expenses and services on this mission.

Resolved, that Francis Walker Gilmer be appointed agent for the purposes aforesaid; that he proceed on the mission with as little delay as possible, and that he use his best diligence to have the professors in place by the middle of November next, that there be time for announcing sufficiently, and on certain grounds, the commencement of the

institution on the 1st day of February following. That, if the moneys destined for these advances be not in hand, to save time and disappointment, they be borrowed by the executive committee on the credit of the University, from any bank, body, or individual, whatever, to be replaced by the said moneys when received.

And inasmuch as it is necessary for the information of the agents, now to specify the sciences to be taught, and their distribution among the professorships, and it may be satisfactory to the professors also to know what their general situation in the University will be, what and on whom their dependence will be, and the duties expected from them, the Board proceeds to the following enactments; adjourning, however, for the present until to-morrow.

Tuesday, April 6th a constant and heavy rain prevented the meeting of the Board.

Wednesday, April 7, 1824.

Joseph C. Cabell attended with the members present on Monday. In the University of Virginia shall be instituted eight professorships, to wit: 1st, of ancient languages; 2d, modern languages; 3d, mathematics; 4th, natural philosophy; 5th, natural history; 6th, anatomy and medicine; 7th, moral philosophy; 8th, law.

In the school of ancient languages shall be taught the higher grade of the Latin and Greek languages, the Hebrew, rhetoric, belles-lettres, ancient history and ancient geography.

In the school of modern languages shall be taught French, Spanish, Italian, German and the English language in its Anglo-Saxon form; also modern history and modern geography.

In the school of mathematics shall be taught mathematics generally including the high branches of numerical arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, plane and spherical geometry, mensuration, navigation, conic sections, fluxions or differentials, military and civil architecture.

In the school of natural philosophy shall be taught the laws and properties of bodies generally, including mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, acoustics, optics and astronomy.

In the school of natural history shall be taught botany, zoology, mineralogy, chemistry, geology and rural economy.

In the school of anatomy and medicine shall be taught anatomy, surgery, the history of the progress and theories of medicine, physiology, pathology, materia medica and pharmacy.

In the school of moral philosophy shall be taught mental science generally, including ideology, general grammar, logic and ethics.

In the school of law shall be taught the common and statute law, that of the chancery, the laws

feudal, civil, mercatorial, maritime and of nature and nations; and also the principles of government and political economy.

This arrangement, however, shall not be understood as forbidding occasional transpositions of a particular branch of science from one school to another in accommodation of the particular qualifications of different professors.

In each of these schools instruction shall be communicated by lessons or lectures, examinations and exercises, as shall be best adapted to the nature of the science, and number of the school; and exercises shall be prescribed to employ the vacant days and hours.

The professors shall be permitted to occupy, rent free, a pavilion each, with the grounds appropriated to it. They shall also receive from the funds of the University such compensation as shall have been stipulated by the agent or fixed by the Board; and from each student attending them tuition fees as hereinafter declared.

The professors shall permit no waste to be committed in their tenements, and shall maintain the internal of their pavilions, and also the windows, doors and locks external during their occupation, in as good repair and condition as they shall have received them.

The collegiate duties of a professor, if discharged conscientiously, with industry and zeal, being sufficient to engross all his hours of business, he shall

engage in no other pursuits of emolument unconnected with the service of the University without the consent of the Visitors.

Every student shall pay to the professor whom he attends, if he attends but one, fifty dollars the session of ten months and a half; if two, thirty dollars each, if three or more, twenty-five dollars each—and these payments shall be made in advance, and before his admission into the school. And they shall maintain their dormitories in the condition in which they shall receive them in like manner as is required of the professors. The proctor shall in duty attend in both cases to the observance of this requisition.

Although, as before expressed, the Board is in the expectation that they may be able, either immediately or at no distant period, to establish eight professorships; yet some uncertainties in the state of their funds, and other considerations render it prudent, for the present, to establish seven only; and the school of anatomy being that which it will be most expedient to postpone, they instruct their agent accordingly to make no engagement for an anatomical professor, or a provisional one only, subject to the future determination of the Board. They deem it also expedient that professors of law and moral philosophy shall be taken from among the citizens of the United States.

Considering as satisfactory the qualifications and character of George Blaettermann, of the city of

London, recommended to them as professor of modern languages, the agent is authorized to engage him for that professorship, unless circumstances unknown to this Board should, in his judgment, furnish cause to decline that engagement, and to proceed to procure one who may merit more unexceptionably the approbation of the Board.

The Board then proceeded to the appointment of a professor, and Francis Walker Gilmer was appointed to the professor of law, or of moral philosophy, at his election, to be signified to the rector.

The executive committee are authorized to appoint a collector of the arrears of subscriptions, and are required to take measures as may be necessary to effect a speedy collection.

An act of the last assembly having appropriated to the University, for the purchase of a library and apparatus, the sum of 50,000 dollars out of the first moneys that may be received from the government of the United States on account of the claim of this Commonwealth for advances and expenditures during the late war, having also authorized a contingent loan to that amount, by board of public works, on the credit of the appropriation so made, and it being proper to provide for the receipt and disposal of this money, and for the negotiations of the authorized loan to such extent as may be advisable, the Board doth therefore, resolve:

First, that as soon as the money so appropriated, or any part thereof, shall be payable, it be paid to the bursar of the University, or to his order; that so much thereof as may be required by the executive committee, not exceeding 20,000 dollars, be placed by him in Europe under the control of the agent hereby deputed to that country, to be employed in the purchase of such books and apparatus as may be deemed most useful for the commencement of the several schools in the University; and the balance of the money which may be received by the bursar be deposited in bank, subject to the future orders of the Board.

Secondly, that the executive committee be authorized, if they deem it expedient, in anticipation of the money to be received from the General Government, to negotiate a loan with the board of public works for any sum not exceeding that hereby directed to be placed under the control of the agent in Europe; and to pledge the money so to be received from the General Government for the payment of the interest and refunding the principal of the loan; and any money so borrowed by the executive committee sha l be placed under the control of the agent in Europe, in lieu of that mentioned in the first resolution, and for the purpose therein specified.

And the Board adjourned without day.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University, at the University, on Monday the 4th of October, 1824, at which were present, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Breckenridge, John H. Cocke, George Loyall and Joseph C. Cabell.

Resolved, that the Board ratify two purchases of land in front of the rotunda, purchased of Daniel A. Piper and Mary A. F., his wife.

Resolved, that permission be given to Francis W. Gilmer, now on his mission to Great Britain for the purpose of engaging professors for the University, to use for his expenses six or seven hundred dollars of the 6,000 dollars put into his hands for the purchase of books and apparatus.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of the Board that if the arrearages of subscriptions should not be sufficient to pay for the articles of marble contracted for in Italy, it will be proper to supply the deficiency from the annuity of the year 1825.

Resolved, that the bursar be authorized to enter into negotiations with any one of the banks for the purpose of procuring an advance of the separate part of the arrears of subscriptions, with an understanding that the University shall not be called on for the reimbursement of the moneys till such time as they shall be paid by the subscribers, or within such other times as shall be reasonable.

Resolved, that the rent for the hotels be fixed at 200 dollars per annum.

The Board then proceeded to consider of the

regulations necessary for constituting, governing and conducting the institution in addition to those passed at their last session, agreed to the following supplementary enactments:

Each of the schools of the University shall be held two hours of every other day of the week; and that every student may be enabled to attend those of his choice, let their sessions be so arranged, as to days and hours, that no two of them shall be holden at the same time. Therefore,

The school of ancient languages shall occupy from 7.30 to 9.30 a. m., on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

That of modern languages shall occupy the same hours on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

That of mathematics shall occupy from 9.30 to 11.30 a. m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

That of natural philosophy the same hours on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

That of natural history shall occupy from 11.30 a. m. to 1.30 p. m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

That of anatomy and medicine the same hours on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

That of moral philosophy shall occupy from 1.30 to 3.30 p. m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

That of law the same hours on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.

The Visitors of the University shall be free, severally or together, to attend occasionally any

school, during its session, as inspectors and judges of the mode in which it is conducted.

Wherein the instruction is by lessons, and the class too numerous for a single instructor, assistant tutors may be employed, to be chosen by the professor, to have the use of two adjacent dormitories each, rent free, and to divide with the professor the tuition fees, as shall be agreed between them.

The professors, tutors and all officers of the University shall reside constantly in the apartments of the University, or of its precincts, assigned to them.

At a meeting of the faculty of professors, on matters within their functions, one of them shall preside, by rotation, for the term of one year each. A majority of the members shall make a quorum for business. They may appoint a secretary of their own body, or otherwise, who shall keep a journal of their proceedings, and lay the same before the Board of Visitors at their first ensuing meeting, and whenever else required. The compensation for such secretary shall be fifty dollars yearly, payable from the funds of the University.

Meetings of the faculty may be called by the presiding member of the year, or by any three of the professors, to be held in an apartment of the rotunda, and the object of the call shall be expressed in the written notification to be served by the janitor. But when assembled, other business also may be transacted.

The faculty may appoint a janitor, who shall attend its meetings, and the meetings of the Visitors, and shall perform necessary menial offices for them, for which he shall receive 150 dollars yearly from the funds of the University, and be furnished wtih a lodging room.

No student is to be received under sixteen years of age, rigorously proved. None to be admitted into the mathematical school, or that of natural philosophy, who is not an adept in all the branches of numerical arithmetic; and none into the school of ancient languages, unless qualified, in the judgment of the professor, to commence reading the higher Latin classics; nor to receive instruction in Greek, unless qualified in the same degree in that language.

No one shall enter as a student of the University, either at the beginning or during the progress of the session, but as for the whole session, ending on the 15th day of December, and paying as for the whole.

The dormitories shall be occupied by two students each, and no more, at fifteen dollars yearly rent, to be paid to the proctor at or before the end of the session, one-half by each occupant, or the whole by one, if there be only one. And every student, within the same term, shall pay to the proctor, also, for the University, fifteen dollars annually for his participation in the use of the public apartments during the session.

The students shall be free to diet themselves in any of the hotels of the University, at their choice, or elsewhere, other than in taverns, as shall suit themselves, but not more than fifty shall be allowed to diet at the same hotel.

No keeper of any of the hotels of the University shall require or receive more than 100 dollars for dieting any student and for performing the necessary offices of his dormitory, during the session of ten months and a half, nor shall suffer ardent spirits or wine, mixed or unmixed, to be drank within his tenement, on pain of an immediate determination of his lease, and removal by the Faculty; nor shall any person boarding elsewhere than with their parents, in any house, and using wine or ardent spirits, mixed or unmixed, within such house, or its tenement, or paying more than 120 dollars for diet, lodging, and other offices and accommodations of the house and tenement, during a like term, be admitted to any school of the University.

Every student shall be free to attend the schools of his choice, and no other than he chooses.

There will be one vacation only in the year, and that shall be from the 15th day of December to the last day of January.

Examination of the candidates for honorary distinctions shall be held in the presence of all the professors and students, in the week preceding the commencement of the vacation. At these examina-

tions shall be given, to the highly meritorious only, and by the vote of a majority of the professors, diplomas, or premiums of medals or books, to be provided by the University, to wit: Diplomas to those of the highest qualifications, medals of more or less value to those of the second grade of acquisition, and books of more or less value to those of a third. These diplomas shall be of two degrees; the highest of doctor, the second of graduate. And the diploma of each shall express the particular school or schools in which the candidate shall have been declared eminent, and shall be subscribed by the particular professors approving it. But no diploma shall be given to any one who has not passed such an examination in the Latin language as shall have proved him able to read the highest classics in that language with ease, thorough understanding and just quantity; and if he be also a proficient in the Greek, let that, too, be stated in his diploma. The intention being that the reputation of the University shall not be committed but to those who, to an eminence in some one or more of the sciences taught in it, add a proficiency in these languages which constitute the basis of good education, and are indispensable to fill up the character of a "well-educated man."

Punishment for major offences shall be expulsion, temporary suspension, or interdiction of residence or appearance within the precincts of the University. The minor punishment shall be restraint

within those precincts, within their own chamber, or in diet, reproof by a professor, privately or in presence of the school of the offender, or of all the schools, a seat of degradation in his school-room of longer or shorter duration, removal to a lower class, dismission from the school-room for the day, imposition of a task; and insubordination to these sentences shall be deemed and punished as contumacy.

Contumacy shall be liable to any of the minor punishments.

The precincts of the University are to be understood as co-extensive with the lot or parcel of its own grounds on which it is situated.

The major punishments of expulsion from the University, temporary suspension of attendance and presence there, or interdiction of residence or appearance within its precincts, shall be decreed by the professors themselves. Minor cases may be referred to a board of six censors, to be named by the faculty, from the most discreet of the students, whose duty it shall be, sitting as a board, to inquire into the facts, propose the minor punishment which they think proportioned to the offence, and to make report thereof to the professors for their approbation, or their commutation of the penalty, if it be beyond the grade of the offence. The censors shall hold their offices until the end of the session of their appointment, if not sooner revoked by the faculty.

Inattendance on school, inattention to the exercises prescribed, and misbehavior or indecorum in school shall be subject to any of the minor punishments; and the professor of the school may singly reprove, impose a task, or dismiss from the room for the day.

Habits of expense, of dissoluteness, dissipation, or of playing at games of chance, being obstructive to the acquisition of science by the student himself and injurious by example to others, shall be subject in the first instance to admonition and reproof to the offender, and to communication and warning to the parent or guardian, and, if not satisfactorily corrected, to a refusal of further continuance at the University.

No student shall make any festive entertainment within the precincts of the University, nor contribute or be present at them, there or elsewhere, but with the consent of each of the professors whose school he attends, on pain of a minor punishment.

No student shall admit any disturbing noises in his room, or make them anywhere within the precincts of the University, or fire a gun or pistol within the same, on pain of such minor sentence as the faculty shall decree or approve. But the proper use of musical instruments shall be freely allowed in their rooms, and in that appropriated for instruction in music.

Riotous, disorderly, intemperate or indecent conduct of any student within the precincts shall be

punished by interdiction of a residence within the precincts; and repetitions of such offences, by expulsion from the University.

Fighting with weapons which may inflict death, or a challenge to such fight, given or accepted, shall be punished by instant expulsion from the University, not remissible by the Faculty; and it shall be the duty of the proctor to give information thereof to the civil magistrate, that the parties may be dealt with according to law.

Offences cognisable by the laws of the land shall be left to the cognisance of the civil magistrate, if claimed by him, or otherwise to the judgment of the faculty; all others to that of the faculty. And such of these as are not specially designated in enactments of the Visitors may be subjected by the faculty to any of the minor punishments permitted by these enactments.

Sentences of expulsion from the University (except in the case of challenge or combat with arms) shall not be final until approved by the Board of Visitors or, when they are not in session, by a majority of them, separately consulted. But residence within the precincts, and attendance on the schools may be suspended in the meantime.

No student shall, within the precincts of the University, introduce, keep or use any spirituous or vinous liquors, keep or use weapons or arms of any kind, or gunpowder, keep a servant, horse or dog, appear in school with a stick, or any weapon,

nor while in school, be covered without permission of the professor, nor use tobacco by smoking or chewing, on pain of any of the minor punishments at the discretion of the faculty, or of the board of censors, approved by the faculty.

All damages done to instruments, books, buildings or other property of the University by any student, shall be made good at his expense; and wilful injury to any tree, shrub or other plant within the precincts, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding ten dollars, at the discretion of the faculty.

When a professor knocks at the door of a student's room, any person being within, and announces himself, it shall be opened, on pain of minor punishment; and the professor may, if refused, have the door broken open; and the expenses of repair shall be levied on the student or students within.

At the hour appointed for the meeting of every school, the roll of the school shall be called over, the absentees and those appearing tardily, shall be noted, and if no sufficient cause be offered, at the rising of the school, to the satisfaction of the professor, the notation shall stand confirmed, and shall be given in to the faculty, the presiding member of which for the time being shall, on the 15th days of May, August and December, or as soon after each of these days as may be, transmit by mail a list of these notations to the parent or guardian of each delinquent.

When testimony is required from a student, it shall be voluntary, and not on oath. And the obligation to give it shall—(if unwilling to give it, let the moral obligation be explained and urged, under which every one is bound to bear witness, where wrong has been done, but finally let it)—be left to his own sense of right.[1]

Should the religious sects of this State, or any of them, according to the invitation held out to them, establish within, or adjacent to, the precincts of the University, schools for instruction in the religion of their sect, the students of the University will be free, and expected to attend religious worship at the establishment of their respective sects, in the morning, and in time to meet their school in the University at its stated hour.

The students of such religious school, if they attend any school of the University, shall be considered as students of the University, subject to the same regulations, and entitled to the same rights and privileges.

The room provided for a school-room in every pavilion shall be used for the school of its occupant professor, and shall be furnished by the University with necessary benches and tables.

The upper circular room of the rotunda shall be reserved for a library.

One of its larger elliptical rooms on its middle floor shall be used for annual examinations, for

[1]This altern was made by the Board March 5, 1825.

lectures to such schools as are too numerous for their ordinary school room, and for religious worship, under the regulations allowed to be prescribed by law. The other rooms on the same floor may be used by schools of instruction in drawing, music, or any other of the innocent and ornamental accomplishments of life; but under such instructors only as shall be approved and licensed by the faculty.

The rooms in the basement story of the rotunda shall be, one of them for a chemical laboratory, and the others for any necessary purpose to which they may be adapted.

The two open apartments, adjacent to the same story of the rotunda, shall be appropriated to the gymnastic exercises and games of the students, among which shall be reckoned military exercises.

A military instructor shall be provided at the expense of the University, to be appointed by the faculty, who shall attend on every Saturday from half after one o'clock to half after three p. m., and shall instruct the students in the manual exercise, in field evolutions, manœuvres and encampments. The students shall attend these exercises, and shall be obedient to the military orders of their instructor. The roll shall be regularly called over by him at the hour of meeting, absences and insubordinations shall be noted, and the list of the deliquents shall be delivered to the presiding member of the faculty for the time being to be animadverted on by the faculty, and such minor punish-

ment imposed as each case shall, in their discretion, require. The school of modern languages shall be pretermitted on the days of actual military exercise.

Substitutes in the form of arms shall be provided by the proctor, at the expense of the University; they shall be distinguished by numbers, delivered out, received in and deposited under the care and responsibility of the instructor, in a proper depository to be furnished him; and all injuries to them by a student shall be repaired at the expense of such student.

Work-shops shall be provided, whenever convenient, at the expense of the University, wherein the students who choose, may exercise themselves in the use of tools, and such mechanical practices as it is convenient and useful for every person to understand, and occasionally to practice. These shops may be let, rent free, to such skillful and orderly mechanics as shall be approved by the faculty, on the condition that they will permit the use of their tools, instruments and implements, within the shop, to such students as shall desire and use the permission discreetly, and under a liability for any injury they may do them; and on the further condition, if necessary, of such mechanics receiving instruction gratis in the mechanical and philosophical principles of his art, so far as taught in any of the schools.

The Board then proceeded to consider the draught of a report to be made, as required by law, to the

president and directors of the Literary Fund, and before concluding it finally, they adjourned to to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, October 5th, 1824.

The Board met pursuant to adjournment. Present, Thomas Jefferson, James Breckenridge, John H. Cocke and Joseph C. Cabell.

On motion, resolved, that the proctor be authorized and required, after the 15th day of November next, to lease the hotels of the University to such persons offering, of worthy and proper character, as he shall approve; that the lease shall not be of a longer term than one year; and that he cause to be inserted therein such covenants as he shall deem necessary as to the preservation of the houses, inclosures and appurtenances of the tenements, and observance of the preceding regulations; and that this be published without delay, that all persons may have notice who may desire to apply.

And the Board, having concluded, and agreed to the report to be made to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, adjourned without day.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

October 5th, 1824.

Which report is in the words following:

To the president and directors of the Literary Fund:

In obedience to the law requiring that the rector

and Visitors of the University of Virginia should make report annually to the president and directors of the Literary Fund (to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session), embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the condition of the said University, the said rector and Visitors make the following report:

In that of the preceding year it was stated that the buildings for the accommodation of the professors and students were in readiness for their occupation, and that the walls of the larger building, intended for a library and other purposes, were completed. In the course of the present season this building has received its roof, and will be put into a condition for preservation and use, although its interior cannot be completed. It was then also stated that, without awaiting that completion, the institution might be put into operation at the close of this present year were its funds liberated from the encumbrances with which they were charged. This obstacle was removed by the act of the legislature of January 27 of the present year concerning the University of Virginia.

In consequence of this liberation, the Board of Visitors at their ensuing meeting, on the 5th of April last, proceeded to take such preparatory measures as could be taken at that time to carry the views of the legislature into effect with as little delay as practicable. From the accounts and

estimates then rendered by the bursar and proctor, it appeared that on the last day of the preceding year, 1823, the funds in hand and due to the University, of the last loan, and of the arrearages of subscriptions, would be sufficient, when received, to pay all debts then existing on any account, and to leave a sum of about 21,000 dollars applicable to the building of the library, which, with the sum of 19,370.40½ dollars already paid or provided for that edifice, would put it into a state of safety and of some uses, until other and more pressing objects should have been accomplished. They consider the University, therefore, as having had in hand, on the first day of the present year, 1824, the annuity of this year (clear of all prior claims), as a fund for defraying the current expenses of the year, for meeting those necessary toward securing professors, paying any commencement of salaries which might be incurred to the end of the year, and to leave a small surplus for contingencies.

They found, from a view of the future income, consisting of the annuity, and such rents for buildings as may be reasonably required that it would not be adequate to the full establishment of the ten professorships contemplated by the legislature in their act of January 25, 1819, for establishing the University; but that it might suffice for instituting eight professorships for the present, and that the branches of science proposed to be taught

in the University might be arranged within the competence of that number for a time, and until future and favorable circumstances might enable them to add the others, and to lighten duly the professorships thus overcharged with duties.

They proceeded, therefore, to settle the organization of the schools, and the distribution of the sciences among them, and they concluded on the same, as follows:

In the University of Virginia shall be instituted eight professorships, to wit: First, of ancient languages; second, modern languages; third, mathematics; fourth, natural philosophy; fifth, natural history; sixth, anatomy and medicine; seventh, moral philosophy; eighth, law.

In the school of ancient languages are to be taught the higher grade of the Latin and Greek languages, the Hebrew, rhetoric, belles-lettres, ancient history and ancient geography.

In the school of modern languages are to be taught French, Spanish, Italian, German and the English language in its Anglo-Saxon form; also modern history and modern geography.

In the school of mathematics are to be taught mathematics generally, including the higher branches of numerical arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry plane and spherical, geometry, mensuration, navigation, conic sections, fluxions or differentials, military and civil architecture.

In the school of natural philosophy are to be

taught the laws and properties of bodies generally, including mechanics, statics, hydro-statics, hydraulics, pneumatics, acoustics, optics and astronomy.

In the school of natural history are to be taught botany, zoology, mineralogy, chemistry, geology and rural economy.

In the school of anatomy and medicine are to be taught anatomy, surgery, the history of the progress and theories of medicine, physiology, pathology, materia medica and pharmacy.

In the school of moral philosophy are to be taught mental science generally, including ideology, general grammar and ethics.

In the school of law are to be taught the common and statute law, that of the chancery, the laws feudal, civil, mercatorial, maritime and of nature and nations; and also the principles of government and political economy.

But it was meant that this distribution should give way to occasional interchanges of particular branches of science, among the professors, in accommodation of their respective qualifications.

The Visitors were sensible that there might be found in the different seminaries of the United States persons qualified to conduct these several schools with entire confidence; but it was neither probable that they would leave the situations in which they then were, nor honorable or moral to endeavor to seduce them from their stations; and to have filled the professional chairs with unemployed

and secondary characters, would not have fulfilled the object, or satisfied the expectations of our country in this institution. It was, moreover, believed that, to advance in science, we must avail ourselves of the lights of countries already advanced before us. It was, therefore, deemed most advisable to resort to Europe for some of the professors, and of preference to the countries which speak the same language in order to obtain characters of the first grade of science in their respective lines. And, to make the selection with proper information, caution and advisement, it was necessary to send an agent of science and confidence. Francis W. Gilmer, a learned and trustworthy citizen of this State, was appointed and has proceeded on the mission; and should his object be accomplished as early as expected, we count on opening the institution on the 1st day of February next.

Could the donation of the last legislature, out of the debt due to this State from the United States, have been obtained for the purposes of procuring a library and the apparatus necessary for the several schools the opportunity would have been highly advantageous of having them chosen by this agent, while in Europe, with the advice and assistance of the respective professors. But the application was not in time to be acted on before the adjournment of the late Congress. Yet some books were indispensable, and some apparatus to make even an imperfect commencement. To procure these articles,

therefore, and to defray the expenses necessary for the other objects of the mission, the Board was under the necessity of applying to these purposes a sum of 10,000 dollars of the annuity of the present year, and to leave the internal finishing of the library, however much to be regretted, until some opportunity of greater convenience should occur.

There is some reason to doubt, from the information received, whether our agent will be able to effect his object at as early a day as we had expected. But of this more will be known in time for its communication by the rector with this report. Were it still possible to obtain from the United States a settlement of so much of the claim on them as was appropriated to this institution, in time to find our agent and professors yet in place to invest it, our University would open under auspices highly propitious in comparison with those to which it will be subjected by this unfortunate delay.

The success of our collector in his applications for the arrearages due from subscribers, has not been as great as it has been in further securing the sums which had not yet been secured. The receipts from this resource since the date of our last report have amounted to 2,069 dollars 88½ cents—and the sums deemed separate and still to be received, amount to 7,468 dollars 92½ cents.

The accounts of the receipts; disbursements and funds on hand for the year ending with the last month of September, as rendered by the bursar and

proctor, are given with the report as is required by law.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

October 5, 1824.

At a special meeting of the Board of Visitors of the University, called by George Loyall, Chapman Johnson and Joseph C. Cabell, while attending the last session of the legislature, and held at the University March 4, 1825.

Present, Thomas Jefferson, rector, James Madison, George Loyall, John H. Cocke and Joseph C. Cabell.

Resolved, that in consideration of the delay which attended the opening of the University beyond the day on which it had been announced, the uncertainty which this might occasion in the minds of many at what time it might be opened, and the temporary engagements which in consequence thereof they might enter into elsewhere, notice shall be given that, *for the present year*, students will be received at the University at any time of the year when they become disengaged, on payment of so much only of the usual charges as shall be proportioned to the time unexpired at the date of their reception.

A blank having been left in one of the regulations of the 4th of October last, respecting the price of board in boarding-houses not within the precincts of the University, resolved, that it be filled with the sum of 120 dollars.

On a revision of the rule of October 4 last, respecting testimony required from students, it was proposed to amend the same by striking out the words, "if unwilling to give it, let the moral obligation be explained and urged, under which every one is bound to bear witness where wrong has been done, but finally let it," and to insert instead thereof the words, "and the obligation to give it shall," which being agreed to, the rule as amended now stands in these words: "When testimony is required from a student, it shall be voluntary and not on oath, and the obligation to give it shall be left to his own sense of right."

A resolution was moved and agreed to in the following words:

Whereas, it is the duty of this Board to the government under which it lives, and especially to that of which this University is the immediate creation, to pay especial attention to the principles of government which shall be inculcated therein, and to provide that none shall be inculcated which are incompatible with those on which the Constitutions of this State, and of the United States were genuinely based, in the common opinion; and for this purpose it may be necessary to point out specially where these principles are to be found legitimately developed:

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Board that as to the general principles of liberty and the rights of man, in nature and in society, the doc-

trines of Locke, in his "Essay concerning the true original extent and end of civil government," and of Sidney in his "Discourses on government," may be considered as those generally approved by our fellow citizens of this, and the United States, and that on the distinctive principles of the government of our State, and of that of the United States, the best guides are to be found in, 1. The Declaration of Independence, as the fundamental act of union of these States. 2. The book known by the title of "The Federalist," being an authority to which appeal is habitually made by all, and rarely declined or denied by any as evidence of the general opinion of those who framed, and of those who accepted the Constitution of the United States, on questions as to its genuine meaning. 3. The Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1799 on the subject of the alien and sedition laws, which appeared to accord with the predominant sense of the people of the United States. 4. The valedictory address of President Washington, as conveying political lessons of peculiar value. And that in the branch of the school of law, which is to treat on the subject of civil polity, these shall be used as the text and documents of the school.

Resolved, that George Tucker, Esquire, of Lynchburg, be appointed professor of the school of moral philosophy.

Resolved, that Doctor John Patton Emmet, of New York, be appointed professor of the school of natural history.

Resolved, that whensoever the 50,000 dollars, which the legislature has authorized this Board to receive from the General Government for the purchase of a library and apparatus, shall be placed at the command of the Board, the sum of 6,000 dollars advanced by the fund for building and other general purposes towards the purchase of books and apparatus, should be charged to the Literary Fund, and replaced to the credit of that for building and other general purposes.

Resolved, that on receipt of the said 50,000 dollars and consequent replenishment of the building fund, an anatomical theatre be built, as nearly as may be on the plan now exhibited to the Board.

The Board adjourned to to-morrow.

March 5, the Board met according to adjournment, present the same members as yesterday.

Resolved, that on payment of the said sum of 50,000 dollars by the General Government, a sum not exceeding 6,000 dollars thereof be advanced on loan to the building fund of the University for the purpose of finishing the interior of the library-room.

For the use and care of the library the Board now establishes the following regulations:

The professors of the University shall at all times have free use of the books of the library, in confidence that they will not keep them out longer than while in actual use, and leaving with the librarian a note of the books borrowed.

Books may be lent to the students of the University, by the librarian, and by no other person, on a written permit from a professor whom such student attends, specifying the day beyond which they will not be retained. But it is meant that the books lent are for reading only, and not for the ordinary purpose of getting lessons in them as school books.

No student shall carry any book borrowed from the library, out of the precincts of the University; nor shall any student be permitted to have more than three volumes in his possession at any time.

If a student shall not return a borrowed book on or before the day limited in his permit, he shall receive no other until it be returned; and he shall pay, moreover, for every week's detention beyond the limitation, ten cents for a 12mo. or book of smaller size, twenty cents for an 8mo., thirty cents for a 4mo. and forty cents for a folio.

Not every book in the library shall be free to be lent to students, but such only as shall not be expressly prohibited by the faculty on account of their rarity, value or liableness to injury.

No student shall ever be in the library but in presence of the librarian, or of some professor whom he attends, nor shall be allowed to take any book from the shelves, nor remain in the room to read or consult any book, but during such presence.

If any student deface, injure, or lose any book of the library, he shall pay the value of the book

if defaced, double value if injured, and threefold, if lost; and shall be suspended from the privilege of borrowing during such term as the faculty shall adjudge.

On some one day of every week during term, and during one hour of that day (such day and hour to be fixed on by the faculty) the librarian shall attend in the library, to receive books returned, and to lend such others as shall be applied for according to rule. And at some one hour of every day (to be fixed by the faculty) the librarian shall attend, if requested by any such professor, such book or books as he may require, and to receive any he may have to return.

The librarian shall make an entry of every book lent, and cancel the same when returned, so that it may always be known in what hands every book is.

Strangers whom the librarian may be willing to attend, may visit the library; but, to prevent derangement of the books, they are to take no book from the shelf, but in his presence. They may also be permitted to consult any book, to read in it, make notes or quotations from it, at the table, under such accommodations and arrangements as the librarian shall prescribe, on his own responsibility.

Resolved, that the salary of the librarian be raised to the sum of 150 dollars.

Resolved, that the moneys, expected as before mentioned from the General Goverment, shall be

paid, the Board consider it advisable to employ Mr. Hilliard, of the firm of Cummings, Hilliard and Co., of Boston, to purchase the library of the University, according to the catalogue which has been made.

Resolved, that the professorships of the school of law be proposed to Chancellor Henry St. George Tucker, and in the event of his refusal, then to Judge Philip P. Barbour, and if he should refuse, that then the rector be authorized to call the Board for the purpose of further proceeding towards making the appointment.

Resolved, that the loan of 5,000 dollars, which has been negotiated by the bursar of the University with the Farmers' Bank of Virginia, and the terms on which the same has been negotiated, be confirmed by the Board of Visitors, and the funds of the University are hereby pledged for the reimbursement of the said loan.

A letter having been addressed to the Board of Visitors by Mr. Bonnycastle, professor of natural philosophy, representing that from the communications with the agent of the Board, on the subject of his appointment, he conceived himself entitled to expect that a bond of his to the British government to the amount of £500 would be advanced: Resolved, that the rector be requested to obtain from Mr. Gilmer his view of the understanding which took place on the occasion; and if it should appear to the rector, from the circumstances of the

case, that the interest and credit of the University would justify and require the advances, in that event it shall be made from the funds of the institution.

Resolved, that John H. Cocke and Jos. C. Cabell be appointed a committee to settle the accounts of the proctor and the bursar of the University.

And the Board adjourned without day.

TH. JEFFERSON.

March 5, 1825.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia at the said University on Monday the 3d of October, 1825, at which were present Thomas Jefferson, rector, James Madison, James Breckenridge, Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, Chapman Johnson and George Loyall.

In pursuance of the resolution of the Board of the 5th of March last, on the subject of a claim of Mr. Bonnycastle to the discharge of a certain bond for £500 sterling, given by him to the British government, the rector having agreed with him that the money payment thereof should be advanced by the University to be repaid by him in instalments, Resolved, that the Board approves of the said agreement, and of the provisional measures taken by the rector in his letters to Rufus King, and Peter Barlow, bearing date the 30th of June last, for its advance, if required by that government.

[1]Resolved, that the Board ratifies and confirms the purchase lately made by the rector of 132 acres of land of John M. Perry, lying between and adjacent to the two parcels of 107.8 and 153 acres heretofore owned by the University, which purchase was made on the proposition of the rector with the approbation of the following members, to wit: Of James Madison, James Breckenridge, John H. Cocke, Joseph C. Cabell and George Loyall, previously expressed in letters from them individually to the rector, and the payment already made towards the same, is approved.

Resolved, that the Board approves of the advance of 18,000 dollars to William Hilliard, agent for procuring the library, of the deposit made in the hands of Rufus King, Esquire, of 6,300 dollars for the purchase of a philosophical apparatus, and of that of 3,157 dollars 50 cents, in the same hands, for articles necessary for the anatomical school, with the instructions relative thereto given by the rector, and also of the purchase, and payment of 500 dollars for Doctor Emmet's chemical apparatus and collection of minerals.

Resolved, that the temporary application of 5,000 dollars of the library fund, which was lying unemployed in the Bank of Virginia, to take up the note for the like sum, lent by the Farmer's Bank of Virginia to the University, thereby saving its interest, and also of so much of the said fund as

[1] See Journal of March 29, 1819, similar resolution.

was necessary to make the first payment to Perry, is approved, and that the same sums be replaced from the general fund when necessary.

Resolved, that Francis Walker Gilmer be appointed professor of the school of law.

Resolved, that it be communicated to the Faculty of the professors of the University, as the earnest request and recommendation of the rector and Visitors, that so far as can be effected by their exertions, they cause the statutes and rules enacted for the government of the University, to be exactly and strictly observed; that the roll of each school particularly be punctually called at the hour at which its students should attend; that the absent and the tardy, without reasonable cause, be noted, and a copy of these notations be communicated by mail or otherwise to the parent or guardian of each student respectively, on the first days of every month during the term (instead of the days prescribed in a former statute for such communications).

That it is requested of them to make known to the students that it is with great regret that some breaches of order, committed by the unworthy few who lurk among them unknown, render necessary the extension to all of processes afflicting to the feelings of those who are conscious of their own correctness, and who are above all participation in these vicious irregularities. While the offenders continue unknown the tarnish of their faults spreads itself over the worthy also, and con-

founds all in a common censure. But that it is in their power to relieve themselves from the imputations and painful proceedings to which they are thereby subjected, by lending their aid to the faculty, on all occasions towards detecting the real guilty. The Visitors are aware that a prejudice prevails too extensively among the young that it is dishonorable to bear witness one against another. While this prevails, and under the form of a matter of conscience, they have been unwilling to authorize constraint, and have therefore, in their regulations on this subject, indulged the error, however unfounded in reason or morality. But this loose principle in the ethics of school-boy combinations, is unworthy of mature and regulated minds, and is accordingly condemned by the laws of their country, which, in offences within their cognisance, compel those who have knowledge of a fact, to declare it for the purposes of justice, and of the general good and safety of society. And certainly, where wrong has been done, he who knows and conceals the doer of it, makes himself an accomplice, and justly censurable as such. It becomes then but an act of justice to themselves, that the innocent and the worthy should throw off with disdain all communion of character with such offenders, should determine no longer to screen the irregular and the vicious under the respect of their cloak, and to notify them, even by a solemn association for the purpose, that they

will co-operate with the faculty in future, for preservation of order, the vindication of their own character, and the reputation and usefulness of an institution which their country has so liberally established for their improvement, and to place within their reach those acquirements in knowledge on which their future happiness and fortunes depend. Let the good and the virtuous of the alumni of the University do this, and the disorderly will then be singled out for observation, and deterred by punishment, or disabled by expulsion, from infecting with their inconsideration the institution itself, and the sound mass of those which it is preparing for virtue and usefulness.

Although nocturnal absences from their chambers occasionally happening are not entirely forbidden, yet if frequent, habitual, or without excusable cause, they should be also noted and reported, with other special delinquencies, to the parent or guardian.

The rector and Visitors, impressed themselves with the beneficial effect, and the necessity of strict examinations of the students, on the topics of the lectures and lessons delivered them, recommend this practice to the consideration and attention of the professors.

The Board, considering that it will be for the benefit of the school of medicine that its professor should have opportunities of keeping in mind, to a certain degree, the practical part of his profession,

and of acquiring moreover a knowledge of the peculiarities of disease incident to our climate and country, are of opinion that, besides the habitual practice within the precincts of the University, allowed by a former resolution, he be permitted also to act as a consulting physician elsewhere, so timing these avocations however, as not to interrupt the regular business of his school.

The 4.55 acres of land purchased of Daniel A. Piper and Mary his wife, since the date of the statute defining the precincts of the University, and adjacent to the public road as now established, are made a part of the said precincts.

Resolved, that it be recommended to the faculty of professors in their appointment of a janitor, to have regard to his qualifications in law as a witness to transactions passing within his notice, and that such a janitor be allowed wages not exceeding 200 dollars a year, and a room to lodge in, he dieting and otherwise finding himself.

Resolved, that on a renewal of the leases of the hotels, it shall be made a covenant and condition of the leases that the tenants shall furnish no entertainment in his tenement for pay or compensation of any kind, to any one who is not a student of, or attached to, the University, or a member of his own family; nor shall he permit his tenement, or any part of it, without compensation, to be used for any other then the purposes of a boarding-house. The faculty of professors, on these ques-

tions, shall be judges of the matter of fact, and, finding it true, shall decide either on the immediate termination of the lease, and removal of the tenant or his continuance on such special conditions as shall satisfy them against a repetition of the offense.

Resolved, that the 35th enactment be amended by striking therefrom the following words, "within those precincts, within their own chamber or in diet, a seat of degradation in his school-room of longer or of shorter duration, removal to a lower class, imposition of a task."

Resolved, that the 36th enactment be amended by striking therefrom the word "minor" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "major."

Resolved, that the 39th enactment be amended by striking therefrom the words "impose a task."

Resolved, that the 43d enactment be amended by striking therefrom the following words, "and repetitions of such offences by expulsion from the University," and inserting in lieu thereof the following words, "or any of the minor or major punishments at the discretion of the faculty."

Resolved, that the 43d enactment be amended by adding thereto the following words, "that every occupant of a dormitory permitting these offences therein, be subject to any of the minor punishments at the discretion of the faculty."

Resolved, that the faculty shall have the power, for offensive conduct, of removing the occupant from any dormitory.

Resolved, that if a student be irregular in all his classes for more than a month, after his parent or guardian has been informed, the faculty shall have the discretionary power to dismiss him from the University.

Resolved, that the faculty shall have power from time to time to prescribe regulations of police, not inconsistent with the laws of the land, or the enactments of this Board, which regulations shall be submitted to the Visitors at their next succeeding meeting and shall be in force till disapproved by the Visitors or repealed by the faculty.

The Board then adjourned to to-morrow.

Tuesday, October 4.

The Board met according to adjournment. Present the same members as yesterday.

On complaint from the faculty of certain riotous proceedings of some of the students on the nights of September 30 and October 2, and of insults on some of the professors, the whole of the students were called before the Board of Visitors, they were exhorted to state to the Board the facts which had taken place within their knowledge, whereupon fourteen of them came forward and acknowledged that on the night of the second they had masked and disguised themselves and gone out on the lawn where they had made some noise, but denied they had committed any trespasses or insults on the

professors, and on their engaging to appear before the board of the faculty and to repeat to them the information now given, they were dismissed.

The Board receives from Messrs. Key and Long a written declaration that in consequence of the transactions which had taken place, and particularly of a remonstrance of the day before subscribed by sixty-five students, they could no longer remain in their present situations, that they had lost all confidence in the signers of that remonstrance, and cannot and will not meet them again.

The Board adjourned to to-morrow.

Wednesday, October 5.

The Board met according to adjournment. Present the same members as yesterday.

Resolved that the 47th enactment be amended, by inserting after the word "chewing" the words "or smoking."

No student shall appear out of his dormitory masked or disguised in any manner whatever, which may render the recognition of his person more difficult, on pain of suspension or expulsion by the faculty of professors.

Intoxication shall, for the first offense, be liable to any of the minor punishments, and any repetition of the offence to any of the major punishments.

Resolved, that the 40th enactment be amended, by inserting after the word "dissipation," the words "of profane swearing."

No person who has been a student at any other incorporated seminary of learning shall be received at this University, but on producing a certificate from such seminary or other satisfactory evidence to the faculty with respect to his general good conduct.

The professors being charged with the execution of the laws of the University, it becomes their duty to pursue proper means to discover and prevent offences. Respect from the student to the professor being at all times due, it is more especially so when the professor is engaged in his duty. Such respect, therefore, is solemnly enjoined on every student, and it is declared and enacted, that if any student refuse his name to a professor, or being required by him to stop, shall fail to do so, or shall be guilty of any other disrespect to a professor, he shall be liable to any of the punishments, minor or major.

Resolved, that the compensation to the accountant whom the committee of accounts has employed or may employ at any time be ten dollars a day while employed.

The act of Congress imposing an additional duty of 15 per cent on works of marble, having been passed after the marble capitals for the portico of the rotunda had been ordered, it is considered as retrospective and unjust, and that it will be proper to apply to Congress for a remission of that portion of duty thereon, as it may be thought by that

body but a just encouragement to science to relieve the University from the old as well as new duties on the marbles recently received for the same building, it will be expedient to bond the whole duties for eight months to give time for application to Congress on the subject. And thereupon the members executed the requisite bond in their individual characters, instructing at the same time, the proctor to retain in his hand always a sufficient sum to pay the duties, old and new, if ultimately required.

Resolved, that 400 copies of a new edition of the enactments of the Board of Visitors for the government of the University be printed, in which the amendments made since the date of each enactment shall be incorporated, so that the same shall read in form and substance as now established.

The Board being of the opinion that so much of the ground of the University as can be conveniently applied to that purpose, should be laid off in lots for the uses of the professors, the proctor and keepers of the hotels, rent free, but to be enclosed and improved at their expense; therefore,

Resolved, that the proctor, under the direction of the executive committee, do cause such lots to be laid off, and assigned to the several pavilions and hotels and to the proctor's house.

Resolved, that on the supposition that the renters of the hotels might reasonably have expected thirty-three boarders for the term, at the rent of 200 dollars

(283 days, 200 dollars), in which they have been more or less disappointed, the Board of Visitors deem it just that in consideration of the particular circumstances of the present year an abatement should be made in the rent of each in the proportion of the number of boarders each had, and the time of his boarding with them combined.

The Board adjourned to to-morrow morning.

Thursday, October 6.

The Board met according to adjournment. Present the same members as yesterday.

Resolved, that Mr. Johnson, Mr. Cabell, and Mr. Loyall be appointed a committee, whose duty it shall be to consider and enquire what system may be digested for the better government of the University; that they be especially charged with the duty of considering how far it may be practicable and prudent to connect with the University a court having cognisance over misdemeanors committed within the precincts of the University, and over those committed by members of the University, within the county of Albemarle, and that they report thereupon to the next meeting of the Visitors.

Resolved, that for the purpose of receiving the report of the committee appointed by the preceding resolution, and of acting thereupon, and for the transaction of such other business as may then require attention, an extra meeting of the Board be held on the second Monday in December next.

A communication from the faculty of professors is received in the following words, to wit: "University of Virginia. Ordered, that Wilson Miles Carey having, on the night of the 1st instant, resisted the authority of a professor, used violence against him, and excited others to follow his example, and for abusive epithets concerning the said professor, be expelled from the University. Copied from the minutes of the faculty. Robert Dunglison, secretary. George Tucker, chairman of the faculty. October 6, 1825." Resolved, that the said sentence is unanimously approved by the Board of Visitors.

Another communication from the said professors is received in the following words, to wit: "University of Virginia. Ordered, that William L. Eyre having, on the night of the 1st instant, promoted a riot by repeatedly using indecent and approbrious language respecting some of the professors during the disturbance of the night in question, and having refused to give his name when called upon by two professors, be expelled from the University. Copied from the minutes of the faculty. Robert Dunglison, secretary. George Tucker, chairman. 1825, October 6." Resolved, that the said sentence is unanimously approved by the Board of Visitors.

A third communication from the said professors is also received in the following words, to wit: "University of Virginia. Ordered, that Robert A. Thompson having, on the night of the first instant, armed himself with a stick for the purpose of resisting

the authority of two professors, be expelled from the University. Copied from the minutes of the faculty. Robert Dunglison, secretary. George Tucker, chairman. October 6, 1825." Resolved, that the said sentence is approved by the Board of Visitors.

A letter is received from T. H. Key and George Long in these words, to wit: "To the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia: Gentlemen, The undersigned professors of the University of Virginia hereby tender to you the resignation of their respective chairs. T. H. Key, George Long. October 6, 1825."

Resolved, that Chapman Johnson, Joseph C. Cabell and John H. Cocke be a committee to communicate to Professors Key and Long the objections which occur to the Board to the resignation of their offices as proposed in theirs of this day, and to confer with the said professors on the subject of that letter.

Resolved, that the said committee do make known to the faculty of professors the proceedings which have been had upon their communication of the second day of this month, relative to the disorders in the University, which have lately occurred, and that they also make known to them the names of those students who voluntarily acknowledge themselves present and agents in some of the transactions complained of.

The Board adjourned to to-morrow.

Friday, October 7, 1825.

The Board met according to adjournment. Present the same members as yesterday.

Resolved, that the proctor be charged with the duty at all times, as the attorney in fact of the rector and Visitors, of preventing trespasses and intrusions on the property of the University real and personal, and of recovering its possession from any person who shall improperly withhold the same, and, for this purpose, that he institute such legal proceeding as may be proper. It shall also be his duty to lay before the civil authorities, and to communicate to the proper law officer, such information as he may at any time have, and as may be calculated to prevent or punish breaches of the peace, trespasses and other misdemeanors within the precincts of the University, or committed by students elsewhere, and especially that he take the proper measures to bring the late offenses at the University before the civil authorities.

A motion was made in the following words, to wit: "After the present year, the annual vacation shall commence on the 1st of August and terminate on the 14th of September. There may, moreover, be allowed a recess of all the schools for two weeks at Christmas. This regulation curtailing the next session to six-tenths of the usual length, the fees of the students for that session shall be reduced accordingly. But this resolution shall be suspended

till approved by all the professors. And the said motion was ordered to be laid on the table.

Resolved, that the Board of Visitors do not accept the resignation of the chairs of Professors T. H. Key and George Long. The proctor is requested to communicate this resolution to those gentlemen.

Resolved, that in case of vacancy in the office of any professor happening during the recess of this Board, it shall be lawful for the executive committee to make such temporary arrangement for discharging the duties of the vacant chair as they deem expedient; provided that such arrangement be not for a longer time than the next meeting of the Board. If such vacancy shall involve the breach of contract on the part of any professor, the proctor shall be required to cause an action of covenant, or other proper action, to be brought upon the contract, unless the executive committee shall deem it inexpedient.

A form of a report, as annually required to be made to the president and directors of the Literary Fund, on the funds and condition of the University, was then proposed, amended, and agreed, in the following words:

To the president and directors of the Literary Fund:

In obedience to the law requiring that the rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia should make a report annually to the president and direc-

tors of the Literary Fund (to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session), embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the condition of the said University, the said rector and Visitors make the following report:

That which was rendered on the 5th of October of the last year informed the president and directors of the Literary Fund of the state of preparation to which we were then advanced towards getting the institution into actual operation, of the measures taken for procuring professors for the several schools, for purchasing some books and apparatus, and of the ground of hope then existing that it might be actually opened on the 1st day of February, then next ensuing. It was not, however, until the 7th of March that the professors of ancient and modern languages, of mathematics, of natural philosophy and of anatomy and medicine, being in place, the institution was opened, and put into operation. Professors of the schools of moral philosophy and natural history were received at short intervals afterwards; but no satisfactory engagement having been effected, till lately, of a professor for the chair of law, that school has not yet been opened, nor is it decided whether it will be most eligible to put it into operation at this advanced season of the year, or to await the beginning of the term in February next. The commencement on the 7th of March was with about forty students,

others continued to arrive from day to day at first, and from week to week since, and the whole number matriculated on the last day of the last month of September was 116. Few more can be expected during the present term, which closes on the 15th of December next. And the state of the schools on the same day was as follows:

In the school of ancient languages were 55 scholars; modern languages, 64; mathematics, 68; natural philosophy, 33; natural history, 30; anatomy and medicine, 20; moral philosophy, 14.

From the information received from different quarters we have reason to expect a large accession to our numbers at the commencement of the next term. The dormitories now provided can accommodate 218 students, the neighboring town of Charlottesville perhaps fifty more. But should more be offered they could not be received. Exboarders, too, will labor under serious disadvantages, as, besides increased opportunities of relaxed order, they must lose the use of the library, the books of which cannot be permitted to be carried out of the precincts of the University.

A printed copy of the statutes and regulations enacted by the Board of Visitors for the government of the University is now communicated. We have thought it peculiarly requisite to leave to the civil magistrate the restraint and punishment of all offences which come within the ordinary cognisance of the laws. At the age of sixteen, the

earliest period of admission into the University, habits of obedience to the laws become a proper part of education and practice. The minor provisions and irregularities alone (unnoticed by the laws of the land) are the peculiar subjects of academical authority. No system of these provisions has ever yet prevented all disorder. Those first provided by this Board were founded on the principles of avoiding too much government, of not multiplying occasions of coercion, by erecting indifferent actions into things of offense, and of leaving room to the student for habitually exercising his own discretion. But experience has already proved that stricter provisions are necessary for the preservation of order. That coercion must be resorted to where confidence has been disappointed. We have accordingly, at the present session, considerably amended and enlarged the scope of our former system of regulations, and we shall proceed in the duties of tightening or relaxing the reins of government as experience shall instruct us in the progress of the institution; and we are not certain that the further aid of the legislature itself will not be necessary to enable the authorities of the institution to interpose, in some cases, with more promptitude, energy and effect than is permitted by the laws as they stand at present.

The lands heretofore purchased for the use of the University, consisted of two parcels, about a half mile distant the one from the other; the one of

153 acres, comprehending a small mountain, peculiarly adapted, and important to be secured, for the purpose of an observatory, whenever the future advance of circumstances may render such an establishment desirable. The other of 107.8 acres, made up of several small purchases, which constitute the site of the University itself. Between these is a parcel of 132 acres, which, besides the consolidation of these possessions, and other and great conveniences offered by it, lies in the way of the water necessary for the supply of the establishment, which is brought in pipes, through it, from the high lands to the site of the University. From the benefit of this communication we were liable to be cut off, at any moment, by the owner of this parcel of lands. It was lately offered to us, and at a price thought reasonable, to wit, at fifty dollars the acre. We had, several years ago, paid forty dollars for the parcel adjacent on one side, and one hundred dollars the acre had been given by an individual for a large parcel adjacent on another side. The consideration that the purchase would so far lessen the funds for finishing the rotunda, called certainly for serious hesitation. But the supply of water indispensable to the establishment, the irrecoverable loss of it, if sold out to individuals in lots, as proposed by the proprietor, made it, in our view, an over-ruling duty to secure the University so irreparable an injury, and we concluded the purchase. This now gives to the

institution a tract of nearly four hundred acres, beyond the limits of which it has nothing to desire.

The last report stated that, in addition to the sum of 19,370 dollars 40½ cents which had been paid or provided towards the building called the rotunda, there were still remaining, of the general funds a sum of about 21,000 dollars applicable to that building; that this sum, although not sufficient to finish it, would put it into a state of safety, and of some uses, until other and more pressing objects should have been accomplished. It has been indispensable to finish the circular room, destined for the reception of the books; because, once deposited in their places, the removing them for any finishing which might be left to be done hereafter, would be inadvisable. That has, therefore, been carried on actively, and we trust will be ready in time for the reception of the books. The other apartments of indispensable use were, two for a chemical laboratory, one for a museum of natural history, and one for examinations, for accessory schools, and other associated purposes. An additional building, too, for anatomical dissections, and other kindred uses, was become necessary. We are endeavoring to put these into a bare state for use, although with some jeopardy as to the competence of the funds.

On representation to the General Government of the interest which the legislature of Virginia had given to their University in certain claims then

depending between them, of the great disadvantages under which that institution must labor, without the books and apparatus which this donation was to supply, that government did not hesitate to aid us with an advance, on account, of such a sum as might cover that given to the University. A catalogue of books for the library was thereupon prepared, an agent employed to purchase them, wherever they could be obtained cheapest and best, and a sum of 18,000 dollars for this purpose was placed at his disposal. A previous sum of 7,677 dollars 81 cents had been advanced by the general fund for the purchase of books and apparatus of immediate necessity; and a sum of 6,000 dollars appropriated on loan towards preparing the room in the rotunda destined for a library, making together 31,677 dollars 81 cents for the purchase of a philosophical apparatus, a sum of 6,000 dollars was deposited in London (having cost here 6,300 dollars). A list of the proper articles, and their selection and purchase were committed to a character there highly qualified for the execution of the charge, and another sum of 3,000 dollars was deposited in London (having cost here 3,157 dollars 50 cents) for the acquisition of articles necessary for the anatomical school, which, with 500 dollars paid for a chemical apparatus, and 289 dollars 58 cents for transportation and other miscellaneous expenses, amount to 41,924 dollars 89 cents, leaving a balance of 8,075 dollars 11 cents for defraying

incidental expenses, which will be considerable. A good proportion of these articles we are in hopes to receive this autumn, and the residue in the ensuing spring. Some donations of mineral collections have already been received, others destined for the University are known of, and it is believed we shall, in this way, be supplied sufficiently for all the purposes of education. Much, too, may be expected from the future industry of the alumni themselves of the University, when they shall have entered on the active business of life.

The receipts by the collector of arrearages of subscriptions since the date of our last report have amounted to 2,734 dollars 89 cents, and the balance still to be expected is 4,306.53½, leaving a sum of 4,500 dollars desperate as is believed.

The accounts of the receipts, disbursements and funds on hand for the year ending with the late month of September, as rendered by the bursar and proctor, are given with this report, as is required by law.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector of the University.

The Board then adjourned to the second Monday of December next.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

October 7, 1825.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, held at the said University, on Monday

the 3d and Tuesday the 4th of April, 1826, at which were present, Thomas Jefferson, Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, Chapman Johnson and James Madison, the following proceedings were had:

There shall be established in the University a dispensary, which shall be attached to the medical school, and shall be under the sole direction and government of the professor of medicine, who shall attend personally at the anatomical theatre, or such other place as he shall notify, from half after one to two o'clock on every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, for the purpose of dispensing medical advice, vaccination, and aid in surgical cases of ordinary occurrence, to applicants needing them.

All *poor*, free persons, disordered in body, topically or generally, and applying for advice, shall receive it *gratis;* all others, bond or free, shall receive it on payment of half a dollar at each attendance, for the use of the institution, and all persons shall be vaccinated *gratis*, and the students particularly shall be encouraged to be so, as a protection to the institution against the malady of the small-pox.

The students of the medical school shall be permitted to attend with the professor, to examine the patients by the pulse, and other indications of disease, ask of them such questions as the professor shall think pertinent and shall permit, and to acquire practical knowledge of the processes of pharmacy by taking a part in the preparation of medicines.

The moneys so received shall be applied to the providing and keeping up of a proper and sufficient stock of medicines and salves, to the procuring surgical instruments for ordinary operations, and to defraying other expenses necessary for the institution. For the first stock of medicines, and for necessary instruments, money shall be advanced from the funds of the University to be reimbursed from the receipts of the dispensary.

Notice of this enactment shall be inserted in the first Central Gazette of each month till discontinued by order of the executive committee, for the purpose of keeping under constant notice, all those who may wish to avail themselves of the benefits of the institution. Passed April 4, 1826.

In order that the several schools may participate equally of the conveniences and inconveniences of early and late hours, on and after the 1st day of July next (and without any change in their respective days of duty) there shall be an advance of two hours in the times of the day for opening and closing the three earlier schools of the day, and that now latest shall take the earliest hours of its day, which shall continue until the 1st of February following, when there shall again be a similar advance and change of two hours. And like changes shall continue to be made, on the same days in every year after. Passed April 4, 1826.

The 43d enactment of the rector and Visitors shall be amended by striking therefrom the follow-

ing words in the second line thereof, viz., "within the precincts," and hereafter shall be interpreted and executed as if these words were not therein.

Resolved, that there be established the office of president of the University, with a salary of 1,500 dollars per annum, to be paid out of the annuity of the University, in the manner in which the salaries of the professors are paid.

The president shall be the executive officer of the University, and as such, charged with a general superintendence of the execution of all laws made for its government.

The proctor and all subordinate agents shall be subject to his control and direction in the execution of their respective duties.

He shall convene the faculty whenever he may think the interests of the institution require it, and whenever else any two professors shall request it.

He shall preside at all the meetings of the faculty, when present, and having a vote as professor, he shall have a casting vote as president, when the votes of the professors, pro and con, are equally divided.

In his absence from the meetings of the faculty a chairman *pro tempore* shall be appointed. In the absence of the president from the University, and in case of his disability by sickness, or otherwise, the faculty may be convened, and may act as at present.

When the president shall believe that a student

has committed any offence requiring trial before the faculty, he shall have power to suspend such student, and in case of emergency, forbid him access within the precincts, till a board can be convened for his trial; provided that no such suspension or restraint shall be for a longer time than two weeks, if a board can be convened within that time. Any student violating the order of a president, made pursuant to the authority hereby vested in him, shall be deemed guilty of contumacy and punished accordingly.

Resolved, that William Wirt, at present Attorney-General of the United States, be appointed president of the University and professor of law; and that if he declines the appointment, the resolution establishing the office of president be null and void.

If the appointment hereby made shall be accepted, the professor will be expected to enter on the duties of his office as soon as his convenience will allow, not later, however, than the commencement of the next session.

From the enactments establishing the office of president, the rector dissented. His dissent is ordered to be entered in the journal, and is in the words following:

The subscriber, rector of the University, fully and expressly concurring in the appointment of William Wirt to the professor of the school of law, dissents from, and protests against, so much of these enactments as go to the establishment of

the office of president of the University, for these reasons:

1. Because the law establishing the University, delineating the organization of the authorities by which it should be directed and governed, and placing at its head a Board of rector and Visitors, has enumerated with great precision the special powers it meant to give to that Board, in which enumeration is not to be found that of creating a president, making him a member of the faculty of professors, and with controlling powers over that faculty; and it is not conceivable that, while descending, in their enumeration to give specially the power of appointing officers of the minutest grade, they should have omitted to name him of the highest, who was to govern and preside over the whole. If this is not among the enumerated powers, it is believed it cannot be legitimately inferred, by construction, from the words giving a general authority to do all things expedient for promoting the purposes of the institution; for, so construed, it would render nugatory the whole enumeration, and confer on the Board powers unrestrained within any limits.

2. Because he is of opinion that every function ascribed to the president by this enactment, can be performed, and is now as well performed by the faculty, as now established by law.

3. Because we owe debts at this time of at least 11,000 dollars beyond what can be paid by

any means we have in possession, or may command within any definite period of time; and fixes on us permanently an additional expense of 15,000 dollars a year.

4. Because he thinks that so fundamental a change in the organization of the institution ought not to be made by a thin Board, two of the seven constituting it, being now absent.

For these reasons the subscriber protests against both the expedience and the validity of the establishment of this office.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Resolved, that John Taylor Lomax be appointed professor of law to the University in case the appontment shall be declined by Mr. Wirt.

The appointment of William Wertenbaker a librarian to the University, is approved and confirmed.

Resolved, that it is proper to exclude students from the library room, except in cases in which the faculty may authorize their admission.

Resolved, that the proctor be instructed to take proper measures to have prosecutions instituted against D. S. Mosby and Thomas Draffin, for violations of the law concerning ordinaries and tippling houses, and to have their licenses revoked, if any they have. That it be also the duty of the proctor to have likewise proceedings instituted against other such offenders, if any should be at any time known to him.

To enable the proctor to perform this and other duties requiring proceedings in court, he shall be authorized to employ counsel for the University, and pay him reasonable fees.

It being suggested to the Board that a young man named Robert Beverly abiding for the time in the town of Charlottesville, habitually indulges habits of intemperance and disorder, violating the laws of the land, setting an evil example to the students, and seducing them from their duties, and the Visitors deeming it their duty to procure the punishment of such offences in order that the offender and his example may be removed, therefore,

Resolved, that the proctor be instructed to give information to the attorney for the Commonwealth for the county court, and superior court of law for Albemarle, and to take such measures as either of the said attorneys shall advise, for binding the said Robert Beverly to his good behavior, and for punishing his violations of the law.

Resolved, that the proctor be instructed to consult with the attorney for the Commonwealth for the superior court, and take such measures as may be proper to continue the prosecutions commenced against Philip Clayton and William L. Eyre, late students of the University, or to institute new prosecutions if necessary.

It is especially enjoined on the proctor to make vigilant enquiry into the violence lately offered to the house of Professor Emmet, and the wall of

Professor Blaetterman's garden, and to endeavor to bring the offenders before the civil authorities.

Resolved, that students heretofore or hereafter expelled from the University, shall be absolutely inhibited from coming in its precincts for the period of five years after such expulsion, unless by leave of some professor; and if any such expelled student shall come within the precincts in violation of this resolution, it shall be the duty of the proctor to warn him off, and if he do not depart, or afterwards returns, the proctor shall consult with the attorney employed for the University, and take such measures as the law will allow for punishing the offense, and preventing its repetition.

The keepers of the hotels are expected to be men of discretion and firmness, willing at all times to co-operate with the faculty and Visitors in executing the laws of the institution; it is, therefore, at present *recommended* to them as proper, and after the existing leases expire, it is expressly enjoined upon them as a duty, that they shall whenever called on, either by the Visitors, or by the faculty, freely give evidence upon honor, of all matters within their knowledge, touching the conduct of the students.

In all future leases of the hotels the proctor is required to insert an express covenant that the tenant shall, during the continuance of the lease, conform to the laws of the institution existing at the date of the lease, and a condition that for the

wilful violation of such law the lease shall be void, and the tenant removed or continued on special conditions, as provided by the eighty-fourth enactment.

No student boarding at any hotel, shall be allowed to change his boarding-house till the end of the session, without permission from the faculty.

Hacks and other carriages let on hire shall be admitted within the precincts of the University only under such regulations as shall be prescribed by the faculty.

The executive committee are required to provide for lighting the University, if it can be effectually done at a reasonable expense.

The proctor is required to keep the drains in the grounds of the University always free from obstruction, and to construct such others as the executive committee may direct.

If the duties on the imported marble should be remitted by Congress, the executive committee are authorized to procure a clock and bell for the use of the University.

That part of the communication of the faculty respecting the procurement of books for the students, is referred to the executive committee, who are requested to investigate the subject, and take such measures as they may find expedient to obviate the evils complained of.

The list of periodical publications furnished by the faculty, being approved by the Board, the

rector is requested to forward a copy thereof to Mr. Hilliard, and to require him to furnish them to the University annually, till the further order of the Board.

The expulsion of Philip Clayton from the University by an order of the faculty, made on the 14th of October last, is approved and confirmed by this Board.

The expulsion of William Lewis Cabell, by an order of the faculty made on the 30th of January last, is also approved and confirmed.

The Board having received a communication from the professors of medicine and ancient languages on the subject of diplomas, on which they are not prepared to act definitely, the faculty are invited to take under their consideration the subject of diplomas and premiums for literary merit, and to report to the Visitors at their meeting next autumn, such alterations in the enactments on that subject as they may deem expedient.

The communication of the faculty, on the subject of police, is referred to the committee raised at the last meeting of the Board, and charged with the duty of digesting and reporting a system for the better government of the University; and that committee is required to report to the Board at their next meeting.

The Board adjourns without day.

TH. JEFFERSON, Rector.

April 7, 1826.

At a meeting of the Visitors of the University of Virginia, held at the University on Monday, October 2d, 1826, at which were present James Madison, James Breckenridge, Joseph C. Cabell, John H. Cocke, Chapman Johnson and James Monroe.

The Board being apprised of the death of Thomas Jefferson, rector, proceeded to fill the vacancy in that office, and James Madison was elected.

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